

THE DARDANELLES AND THEIR
STORY

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Second Large Edition.

THE REAL KAISER.

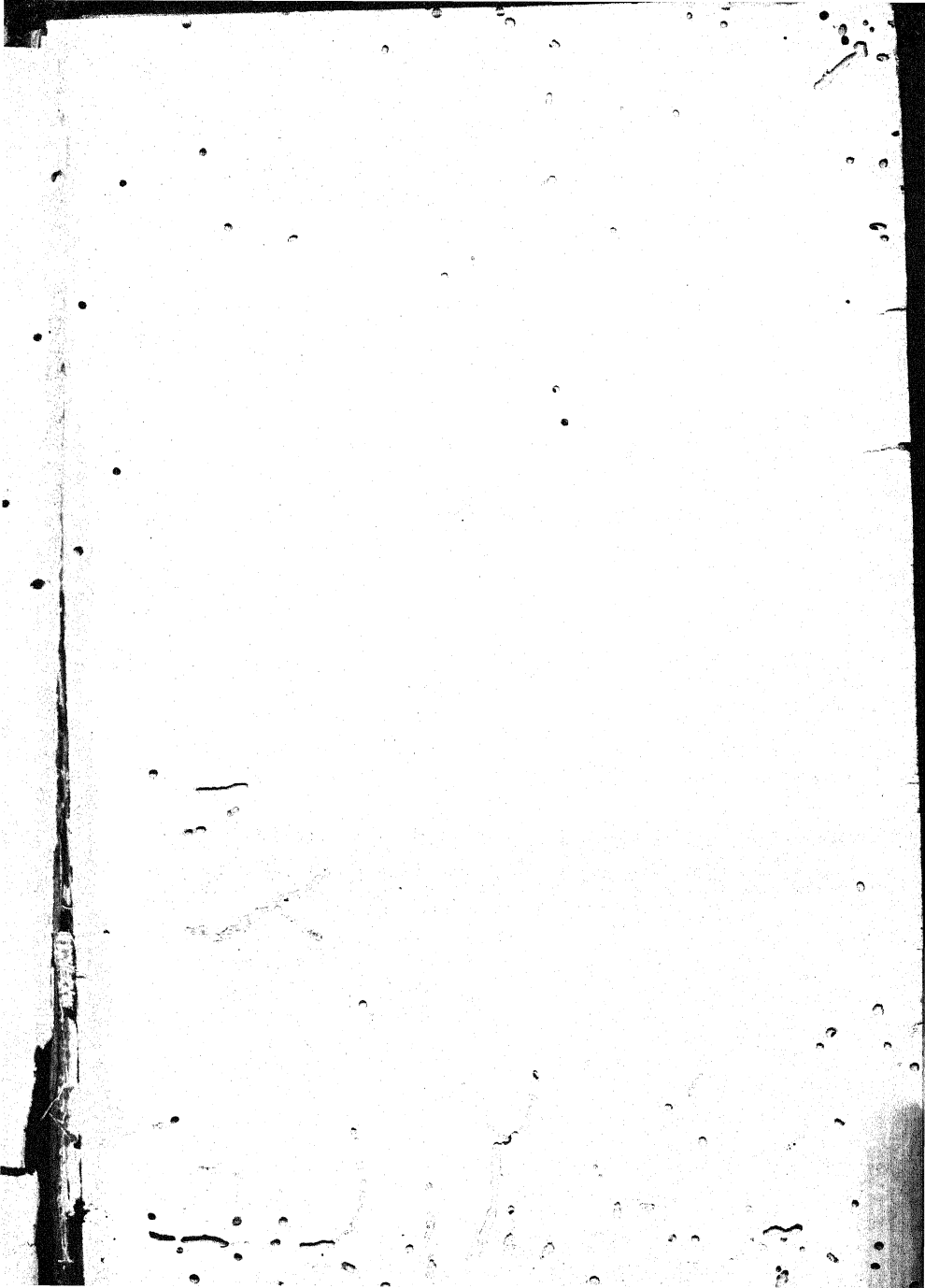
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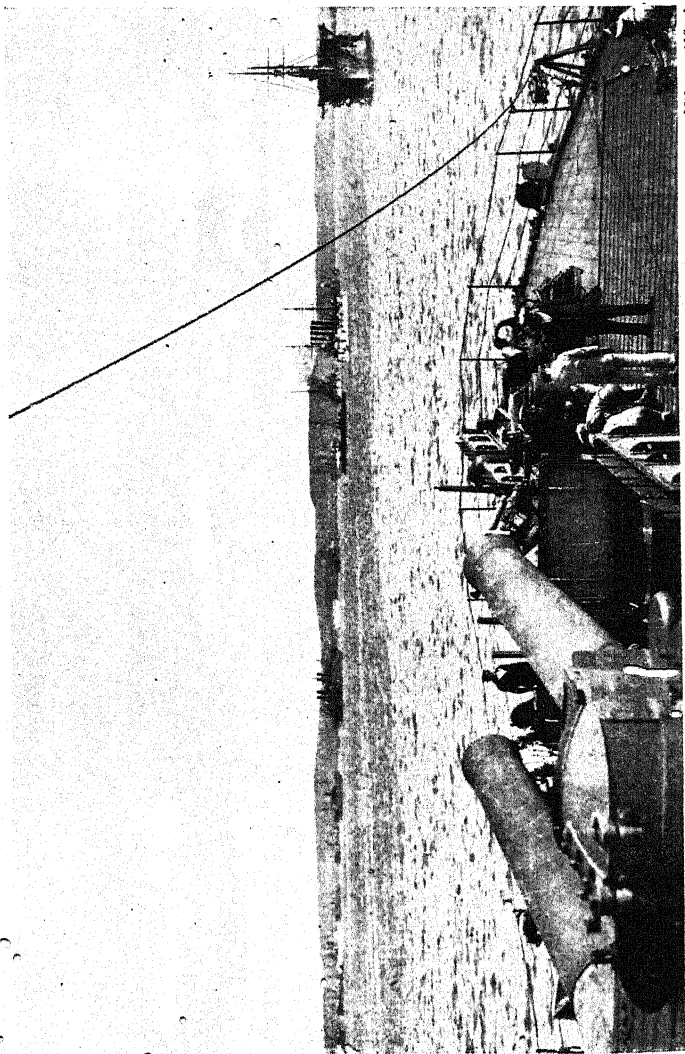
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Warships and Transports at the Entrance to the Dardanelles.

Taken before the landing, from the deck of a battleship.

THE DARDANELLES

THEIR STORY AND THEIR
SIGNIFICANCE IN THE
GREAT WAR)

By

The Author of "The Real Kaiser"

SECOND EDITION

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CHAPTER I

The Significance of the Dardanelles

WHEN Turkey, egged on by Germany, blundered into war with the Powers of the Triple Entente, it was obvious that she was staking her continued existence as a nation on the result. It was equally certain that she presented the best object of attack among the hostile nations ranged against the Allied Powers. There was no surprise, therefore, when the official announcement was made in February that the forts of the Dardanelles had been attacked and bombarded by the fleets of the Allies, with the object of forcing a passage through the Straits and reducing Constantinople.

Such an attack was possible only because of the remarkable naval strength of Great Britain. To sweep the Seven Seas clear of hostile ships, to maintain a blockade of the enemies' war-

fleets, and still to have a powerful fleet for so important an offensive operation was the ultimate triumph of the continuous naval policy of the country. At the time of writing, the operations appear to be approaching a successful issue as quickly as could reasonably be expected; though the progress made has not been achieved without the sacrifice of a number of warships and of many valuable lives.

The loss of life and material involved in this attempt upon the Dardanelles could only be justified by bringing it to a successful issue. When that has been done the results attained will far more than compensate the nation for the price it has paid, grievous though it has been.

The first result will be the restoration of communications between Russia and her Western allies. The declaration of war by Turkey almost coincided with the freezing over of the Russian port at Archangel, and so deprived our Eastern ally of any means of communication by sea with the friendly world outside. The entrance to the Baltic was blocked by the German fleet the Dardanelles were closed by the

- Turks, and Archangel was choked by its annual coat of ice.

In the early spring of 1915 the Russian army sustained severe reverses in Galicia and the passes of the Carpathians. The official explanation of these reverses was a simple one; the Russians were overmatched in heavy guns, the deciding factor in the war of Europe. But big guns and huge stores of ammunition, indeed, military equipment of all kinds, were ready for them in the West, only waiting until a means could be devised of carrying it to Russia.

In other words, by inducing Turkey to make war and close the Dardanelles, Germany put her dangerous foe in the East to a heavy disadvantage, which must continue until the Dardanelles are opened again. That, in itself, is a sufficient reason for the operations made by the Allies to force the passage of the Straits.

The autumn of 1914 saw a heavy wheat harvest garnered on the shores of the Black Sea. It was a food supply of infinite value to the allied forces, at a time when the price of wheat was mounting by leaps and bounds over all the

world. But so long as the Dardanelles are closed to our merchant ships, the Russian wheat must lie useless in the granaries. And so, if only to restore trading communication between East and West, the attempt upon the Dardanelles had to be made.

It is almost equally important to destroy the present means of communication between Germany and Turkey. These means are maintained through some of the neutral Balkan States, and more particularly through Rumania and Bulgaria. These communications can only be stopped by some event which will force the Balkan States to declare themselves. Their reasons for remaining quiescent in a struggle which involves their interest most deeply will be enumerated elsewhere. But the Balkan States, one and all, are supremely concerned in the ultimate mastery of Constantinople. The reasons which caused its founder to select the city as the new capital of the Roman Empire apply with equal force to-day. Apart from its naval importance, as the key to the Straits, Constantinople occupies a position of

the highest strategical significance, from the military point of view alone. Its possession would mean to any of the existing nations of South-east Europe a nucleus spot for the creation of an Empire that might well vie in might and influence with the great Empires that have already had their seat there.

When Constantinople passes into the hands of the Allies the momentous choice can no longer be deferred by the Balkan States. It will indeed be strange if, when the magnitude of their interests has been considered by them, they cannot set aside the differences that have paralyzed them through the first months of the war. In the great settlement that is before Europe the question of paramount importance to them is the disposal of Constantinople. Only one way exists for any of them to claim a voice in the settlement of that question. Which of them will refuse to take that way when Constantinople shall have fallen into the hands of the Allied Powers?

It would seem, therefore, that the forcing of the Dardanelles will drive between Germany

and what is left of Turkey a wedge of far greater extent than is represented by the mere strip of territory that will fall into the possession of the Allies. The Turks will be cut off from their supplies of weapons, ammunition, and skilled advisers. There will be a rapid end of them as a fighting possibility, and a deadly menace to the whole of our Eastern Empire will be removed.

For the plot to rouse the fanaticism of the 300,000,000 Mohammedans of the world into a religious war against Great Britain has still to be considered. The wise precautions taken in Egypt by our government, and the magnificent loyalty of the Mohammedans of our Indian Empire, checked that plot at its very inception. But the idea itself is an insidious poison, that has been diligently scattered by German emissaries in all the dark and uncivilized places of the earth. It has been sedulously fostered by such lies as Germany alone knows how to disseminate. It would be impossible to exaggerate the danger it still holds for civilization.

• Savage and half savage tribes in Africa and the East are watching the issue with true homicidal interest. All their latent savagery is stirred by the return of an era of unchecked violence and bloodshed. The Kaiser, who has already figured in their eyes as the protector of Mohammedanism, and has even been represented to them as a renegade Christian, has led his armies into the lands of the Christian. Great slaughter has been made, and is confined to lands outside the German sway.

The prestige of Great Britain, in which they have an inherited belief, the more implicit because it has never before been challenged, is now at stake. It suffices still to hold them in check, though every baser instinct in them is stirred by the daily record of carnage and savagery. All heathendom waits expectant for the next turn of fortune.

The great Sultan has declared a holy war. It is sedulously reported that the English are determined to crush the Mohammedan faith; that, as far as they can, they will prevent pilgrimages to Mecca; that the Ameer of Afghan-

istan has taken up arms for the faith. All Islam looks on, rapt and intent.

In these circumstances an attack is launched at the very heart of Turkey. The Holy War becomes for the Sultan a war of self-preservation. The seat of the Turkish Empire is threatened; it seems about to pass away from his possession into the hands of the all-conquering English. The heathen must still wait for the event, sullen and watchful.

And this mighty issue, the prestige of the British flag in all the dark places of the world, is being decided in the Straits of the Dardanelles. While Constantinople stands, the few white men who are holding hundreds of thousands of coloured men in check, not in one place but in many, live in a deadly peril. Had Constantinople never been attacked, they might well have been carried away ere now in a flood of barbaric licence. When Constantinople falls, the floodgates will be securely fastened again, and the British prestige will stand higher than ever, both in Africa and in the dangerous Far East.

• In view of these considerations, it is easily possible to regard the attempt on the Dardanelles as the main point of the Allies' offensive. The mighty efforts put forward by the Germans since the landing of troops on either side of the Straits may well have resulted from a recognition on their part of the gravity of the issue with Turkey. Whatever blows they could deliver had to be delivered before the fall of Constantinople should knit their enemies yet closer together, strengthening them on all sides and at once.

The Allies, on their part, display that coherence of plan which has marked their conduct of the war since its very beginning. They are still as economical of human life as their enemies are lavish. In confident unison they are enduring all, until the determining factor in the struggle has been revealed. May not that factor be declared when the Christian God is once more worshipped under the dome of St. Sophia?

CHAPTER II

The Dardanelles

IT is only according to the nature of things that the lines which bound a continent, cannot be artificial. Nature has decreed that a continent should be something self-contained, and no mere human convention could possibly establish the demarcations of so great a thing. Vast natural barriers separate one continent from another; wide expanses of ocean, or lofty and impassable ranges of mountains. Continents may have such slender connections as the isthmuses of Suez and Panama, but the very narrowness of these marks the line of division as surely as the width of a whole ocean intervening.

So we find that the line which separates the continent of Europe from that of Asia is in no way artificial; it is a line established from the beginning of things by Nature herself. The

lofty bristling mass of mountains called the Urals, the wide gulf of the Black Sea, the stern summits of the Caucasus range; these are the barriers which have separated one continent from the other as surely as the Atlantic Ocean has divided America from Africa.

Only in one place do the confines of Asia approach very nearly to the edge of Europe; and that is where the river-fed waters of the Black Sea find an outlet into the bosom of the Mediterranean. Here are two narrow waterlanes, the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Straits of the Bosphorus, bulbing out where they meet into a fairly broad sheet of water, the Sea of Marmora. From time immemorial the easiest way between the two continents has been across this narrow water passage, and from the earliest times the control of this passage has been a subject of dispute and a possession of great value.

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that when the nations of the earth take up arms to contend in a great world-war, one of the vital struggles should centre upon the possession of this waterway; and that the newest nations of

civilization should find their baptism of blood on the soil where, thousands of years ago, Greeks tussled with barbarians for the cause of Light. As these words are written the last great struggle for the right of passage from East to West remains undecided, but the inner significance of the conflict is obvious enough.

It is the fourth phase of the greatest war the world has ever known ; or is ever likely to know. The first phase, and probably the decisive one, was the instant assertion by Great Britain of the truth of all the theories put forward by strategical writers as to the overwhelming importance of sea power. Before the war was a week old, the might of the British fleet had been proved, the commerce of the hostile nations had been driven from the seven seas, and the Allies were enjoying the benefits derived from the control of the ocean.

The second phase was the rush of the massed hordes of the German army to occupy the cities and plains of Western Europe. By what now seems a very miracle, they were turned back at the gates of Paris, and as a result the deadlock

of trench warfare in the West was established.

The third phase, the attempt of the Russians to sweep into Austria while threatening the plains of East Prussia with their surplus legions, might be described as even less successful were it not established that the conditions of the conflict have not permitted the Russian hosts to put forth their full strength, as the Germans put forth theirs in the West.

It is the object of this book to show that the policy which dictated an attack on the Dardanelles, with the ultimate object of capturing Constantinople and driving a wedge between Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, is a policy dictated by the necessity of bringing an early end to the war, which is exhausting the resources of Europe at such breakneck speed. In endeavouring to explain the true significance of this great adventure a variety of considerations will be touched upon, and some historical latitude, it is hoped, will be allowed to the writer. But some description of the Dardanelles is due in the first place.

The passage of the Dardanelles is 45 miles

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long from its mouth at the Mediterranean to the Sea of Marmora. Its greatest width is five miles, and its least width is less than a mile. The entrance from the Mediterranean is two miles wide, and from this point the Asiatic shore immediately curves inland, while the land on the European side runs straight and unbroken. Here is a line of barren cliffs and rock, while on the Asiatic side are sloping gardens and rich vineyards.

The mouth is protected on the Asiatic shore by the fort of Kum Kale, erected on the point known as Jeni Schehr. On this point Hercules is said to have landed with the Argonauts, and Agamemnon with his Greek hosts for the siege of Troy. Imitating these legendary heroes, Alexander the Great made his first landing in Asia on the same spot.

Once within the channel, the traveller passes a coastline rich with classical memories. Near the mouth of the Scamander river may be seen the tombs of Achilles, Patroclus and Festus; while in the distance the heap of stones that marks the site of ancient Troy can still be dis-

cerned. Above all towers the height of Mount Ida, at some seasons of the year crowned with snow. Near the mouth of the river is the beach where the Greeks who besieged Troy dragged up their ships, and the plain beyond is the scene of the exploits of the heroes of Homer.

Thirteen miles from the entrance is the town of Dardanelles, and here the passage narrows to its minimum width. At the point of the Asiatic side where the Narrows actually begin is situated Chanak, and the navigation here is most dangerous by reason of the current and the shallows off the point. For this reason ships making the passage are forced to hug the European shore, an important point in the defence of the Straits, as will presently be shown.

The current sets persistently down the Straits, and is due to the amount of water emptied into the Black Sea by the many large rivers, such as the Danube, which discharge into that sheet of water. There are baffling counter-currents in places near the shore, but in mid-water the direction of the current is constant towards the Mediterranean. Its force is set down as from

three to four miles an hour, but many circumstances tend to make it vary. It may be laid down as a general rule that the direction of the wind has an important influence on the current. When the North Wind backs the current up, it flows with an additional swiftness, while the South Wind affects its force very noticeably. It is worth noting that the season of the North Wind is the spring and summer, while the South Wind blows in the autumn and winter.

Cape Helles is the point that marks the European coast at the entrance to the Straits. The cliffs are unbroken to Kara-onasou, the Aegospotamos of the ancients and scene of the great naval battle in which the power of Athens was wrecked.

Another rampart of cliffs lines the shore to the very point where the opposing coasts approach closest to one another, the points called Sestos and Abydos by the ancients. From this point—12 miles from the entrance—it is 17 miles to Gallipoli, the most considerable town on the European shore until Constantinople itself is reached. Halfway between the Narrows

and this town the channel bends abruptly to the south, and on the Asiatic shore is the fort and village of Nagara. This fort is of the utmost importance in the defence of the passage, for it enfilades the difficult way through the Narrows.

The general impression made upon the traveller who passes through the Dardanelles is rather that of a wide river than an arm of the sea. To this impression the many windings of the channel contribute, as well as its comparative narrowness. The illusion is heightened by the heavily wooded nature of the shore on both sides, especially on the European shore.

The European shore of the Dardanelles is really the narrow strip of land called the Gallipoli Peninsula, which juts out between the Dardanelles and the Gulf of Saros. This peninsula consists of very rough country, high rocky hills covered with dense thickets. It dominates the lower lying and more gently sloping Asiatic coast, being higher and better suited for purposes of defence. On its narrowest point, the neck of land which connects the peninsula with

the mainland, is situated the town of Bulair, which plays an important part in the defence of the peninsula.

At its entrance to the Sea of Marmora the passage of the Dardanelles is at its widest and comparatively easy of navigation.

CHAPTER III

The Romance of the Hellespont

EVERY nation has its Eldorado, a treasure-house where untold wealth waits the bold adventurer. The path to the Eldorado of the ancient Greeks lay through the Dardanelles, which bore a name inextricably associated with Eldorado. It was called the Hellespont because, according to the legend, it received the fallen Helle from the original ram with the Golden Fleece.

Helle and Phryxus were the children of Athamas and Nephele, whom Athamas decided to sacrifice to Zeus. Nephele rescued them from that fate, and they rode away from Europe to Asia on the back of the ram with the golden fleece. In mid-voyage Helle fell into the sea, and was drowned; and the crossing bore her name ever afterwards. But Phryxus came safe to land, and, as a propitiation, sacrificed the

ram to Zeus, giving the Golden Fleece to Æetes, king of Colchis, who nailed it to a tree in the Grove of Ares. To recover the Golden Fleece Argos, the son of Phryxus, built a great ship, called after him *Argo*, and, headed by Jason, an expedition of legendary heroes set out on the first great adventure of which the world holds record. Hercules, Orpheus, Castor, Polux, Theseus and Nestor were among the Argonauts, whose wonderful voyage has been sung from time immemorial.

The story has excited the ingenuity of modern mythologists, who explain that the Golden Fleece was the sun, and Nephele the cloud which yields the fertilizing rain. But to the Greeks the tale was a very real one, and had its influence on their lives and characters. Its bearing on the colonization of both shores of the Hellespont, and of the lands bordering the Euxine, was no inconsiderable one. The first sea voyage ever made had its influence upon a people who afterwards made such voyages without number, and spread their colonies over all the lands indicated in the early fable.

Among the colonies planted in the Hellespont were one at Abydos, in Asia, and another at Sestos, in Europe, where Europe approaches closest to Asia without actually touching. To this narrow crossing—it is not quite a mile wide—both legend and history have given a peculiar interest. The names of Hero and Leander at once leap to the mind. Leander was a brave and beautiful youth of Abydos, who had fallen in love with Hero, the priestess of Aphrodite in Sestos. Every night he swam across the Hellespont to visit her, and before daybreak swam back again. Then came a dark and stormy night when the sea overcame him, and threw him dead on the shore at Hero's feet. And she, finding life held no more sweetness for her, plunged into the Hellespont and perished too.

The legendary feat of Leander was afterwards accomplished by Lord Byron, who found it no mean undertaking. Owing to the rapidity of the current he had to cover more than four miles before he reached the shore, an experience that only a very strong swimmer might brave.

On the shores of the Hellespont, too, Dar-

danus founded the City of Troy. It was built on a fertile plain, watered by the rivers of the Simoïs and Scamander; a plain where the Trojans acquired great wealth as breeders of swift horses. This city was attacked by a confederation of all the Grecian tribes, under the leadership of Agamemnon, king of Argos. They entered the Hellespont with a fleet of 1,200 vessels, each with a complement of about 100 men. To-day the trawlers of Hull are dredging for mines in the waters threshed by the oars of these legendary heroes, and the air that rang with the shouts of Hector and Achilles is racked with the shock of modern high explosives.

Herodotus, in his story of the Persian wars with Greece, traces the animosity between the nations of Europe and Asia to these legendary events. The provocation given by Jason, who stole from the King of Colchis his daughter Medea, is held to have been balanced by the theft of Helen.

"The Persians," he writes, "appear to be of opinion that they who offer violence to women must be insensible to the impressions of justice, but such provocations are as much beneath

revenge as the women themselves are undeserving of regard: it being obvious that all females thus circumstanced must have been more or less accessory to the fact. They asserted also, that although women had been forcibly carried away from Asia, they had never resented the affront. The Greeks, on the contrary, to avenge the rape of a Lacedæmonian woman, had assembled a mighty fleet, entered Asia in a hostile manner, and had totally overthrown the Empire of Priam. Since which event they had always considered the Greeks as the public enemies of their nation."

Such was the fanciful origin which the old historian devised for a vital struggle which arose, as all such struggles do, from the expanding power of an ambitious nation, headed by a reckless ruler. The first Persian expedition against Greece was undertaken by Darius to occupy his victorious army, which had become troublesome in idleness. He crossed a bridge of boats built across the Bosphorus by the Samian Mandrocles, and entered Europe on the expedition which ended in the battle of Marathon.

Then Darius prepared a great expedition to launch against Greece, but died while it was still in the making. He bequeathed his throne and his plans to Xerxes, the king who bridged the Hellespont. The debate on the building of the bridge, as recorded by Herodotus, has its significance at the present time. In the presence of Xerxes, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and uncle to Xerxes, ventured to oppose the scheme in the following words:—

“You say that, throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, you will lead your forces through Europe into Greece; but it may possibly happen, that either on land or sea, or perhaps by both, you may sustain a defeat, for our enemies are reported to be valiant. If, preparing their fleet, they shall be victorious by sea, and afterwards sailing to the Hellespont, shall destroy your bridge, we may dread all that is bad.”

But Xerxes went on with his expedition, spending four years in gathering it together. Then he threw his first bridge across the Hellespont, from Abydos to Sestos. The bridge was no sooner completed than a great tempest arose

and swept it away, to the great wrath of Xerxes. He ordered fetters to be thrown into the water, and three hundred lashes to be inflicted on the waves, the men who wielded the lash saying: "Thou ungracious water, thy master condemns thee to this punishment for having injured him without provocation. Xerxes the king will pass over thee, whether thou consentest or not; just is it that no man honours thee with sacrifice, for thou art insidious, and of an ungrateful flavour."

Those who designed the faulty bridge he had beheaded. Then a new bridge was built; or rather, two bridges. The bridge nearer the Black Sea contained 360 vessels broadside to the stream; that nearer to the Mediterranean 313 head on to the current. All were secured stem and stern with stout anchors, and three openings were left that vessels might pass up and down. Stout cables were then passed over the boats from shore to shore, and across these were bound rafters of wood. More planks were laid on these, and on the top of them earth. The whole was finished with a fence on either side,

so that the beasts of burden might not take fright by looking upon the sea.

At Abydos a throne of marble had been built, and seated on this, Xerxes surveyed the bridged Hellespont, his mighty fleet and huge array of men. Seven days and seven nights the march of the army across the Hellespont continued; the last man to cross the bridge was Xerxes himself.

The gloomy predictions of Artabanus afterwards came true; he was defeated both by land and sea, and hurled back to the Hellespont in a disastrous retreat. But there was no need for the victorious Greeks to trouble about destroying the bridge that had been built with so much labour and ingenuity. A storm had broken it into nothingness long before, and the remains of his gigantic army had to be transported back to Asia in little boats.

One more famous crossing of the Hellespont changed the whole face of history. In the year 334 B.C. Alexander of Macedon arrived at Sestos with an army for the invasion of Asia. It consisted of the famous Macedonian phalanx of

12,000 men, 18,000 other foot soldiers, and 4,500 horse. It was equal in number, probably, to the force Australia and New Zealand sent across the ocean to assist in forcing the passage of the Dardanelles. Arrived at Sestos, Alexander sacrificed at the tomb of Protesilaos, because he was the first of the Greeks with Agamemnon to set foot on Asia.

For the passage of the army 160 triremes and many vessels of burden had been prepared, and the crossing was safely made. In mid-channel Alexander offered a bull to Neptune and poured a libation into the sea from a golden cup. He stepped ashore fully armed and set up altars to Jupiter, Pallas, and Hercules. Then he made his way to Troy, and took down from the temple of Pallas Ithaca a suit of consecrated armour, said to have been there even since the Trojan war. This armour was carried before him in his expedition, wherever he went. In this way he began the most amazing expedition ever launched in the history of the world, that ended in the conquest of India and the undignified death of the Conqueror himself.

CHAPTER IV

Byzantium

LIKE all great colonizing races, the Greeks were an audaciously adventurous people. To this characteristic may be attributed the fascination which the Dardanelles and the unknown lands beyond always held for them. It must have been difficult for them to row their heavy ships against the strong currents of the Narrows, and of the Bosphorus beyond. But their legends held that somewhere through these mystic Straits lay Eldorado, the land of the Golden Fleece. That was only one of many desirable countries to be reached by striving against the strong stream of the Hellespont, and expeditions were constantly being launched in search of these delectable regions.

Naturally most of these expeditions finished up in the Black Sea. The earliest comers got a rough reception there, and in early times the

Greeks knew the sea as Axeinos—the Inhospitable. Later, however, the first verdict was completely reversed, and the title Euxeinos, or hospitable, was given to the sea, and the lands bordering upon it. Many a colony was planted on its shores; it is estimated that from Miletus alone ninety colonies were founded on the Black Sea. Among them were Istrus, at the mouth of the Danube; Tyras, at the mouth of the Dneister; Theodosia; and even Tanaïs, as far north as the mouth of the Don.

These turned out flourishing settlements enough, producing an abundance of wheat, fish, and other raw products. But the Greeks did not leave their own fertile and pleasant land in search of sites where rough life and an abundance of primitive food were the reward of the adventurer. None of the Black Sea settlements ever thrived and became important, though Greece for centuries afterwards drew its stores of corn and salt fish from this source.

The fact was that the spirit of adventure had drawn the early expeditions past the spot best suited for a great Greek colony. The settlements

made on the shores of the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmora were comparatively few. The Lesbians, it is true, had planted a colony at Sestos, and the Milesians had settled at Abydos, because between these two places lay the shortest route from Asia to Europe; and the trading opportunities there were naturally considerable. And the Megarians had settled at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora, near the mouth of the Bosphorus.

The Greeks had a keen eye for a point of vantage, and it is a matter for surprise that these Megarians missed the much finer site on the opposite shore. Nearly twenty years later, in the year 666 B.C., it was selected by an expedition from the same city, who had consulted the Delphic oracle when considering the important matter of a new sphere of activities. The answer of the oracle was characteristically vague. They were told to settle opposite the city of the blind. They immediately dropped anchor opposite their fellow-citizens at Chalcedon, a caustic commentary on the choice these had made of a colony.

Their chosen site was an ideal one for a great trading city. In the words of Gibbon, all Europe was behind it and all Asia before it. A triangle of sloping ground was selected, where the Sea of Marmora joins with the Golden Horn. This latter is an inlet of the sea, nearly two miles wide and over eight miles long, with an abundant depth of water to the very edge of the shore. Into this magnificent natural harbour the river Lycus pours its waters, scouring out the harbour at every change of the tide.

The climate is healthy and the soil is fertile. The position is easily defended, for two sides of the triangle are bordered by the sea, and the third does not prevent any great length to be defended. The natural slope of the land is also against any invader seeking to attack the site. It opens on two great seas, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. When attacked from either of these sides it is possible to draw supplies from the other.

At the time of the foundation of Byzantium, more than half the commerce of the known globe passed through the Straits; in later years

the proportion became even higher. The trading advantages of such a spot were obvious, especially in a time when mariners made no long journeys, but were glad to call at every port along their route.

The two main industries of the city built on this spot were commerce and fishing. Byzantium commanded the whole trade of the Black Sea, for it was the custom of every ship passing through the Straits, in either direction, to put in there. Even in very early days the Black Sea commerce comprised the bulk of the trade between Europe and Asia, the natural bridge for traffic being across the Straits. The importance attached by the Byzantines to their fishing profits is marked by their early coins, which bear the ox—a sign of the Bosphorus, or ox-ford—and a tunny-fish as well.

Byzantium soon became a wealthy and a luxurious city. Among their fellow-Greeks, its citizens had a reputation for sloth and gourmandizing, though judged in the light of history they appear to have been brave and active enough. They played a leading part in the Greek combina-

tion against Persia, and were among the first to place their fleet at the disposal of the Federation. They were so near Persia that they were bound to suffer in the hostilities, and for thirty years the city had to submit to the Persian yoke.

Soon after the Persians were turned out, the city was ruled by a tyrant, Histiaeus, who had the bright idea of charging dues on all the shipping that passed through the Straits. It says much for the position of the city, from the strategical side, that he was enabled to enforce this demand. It ceased, however, when he was turned out.

None of the subsequent vicissitudes of the city interfered with its growing prosperity. When Athens was at the summit of her power the Athenians twice captured Byzantium, exacting tribute the city was well able to pay. Alexander the Great took it, and made it part of his kingdom of Macedon. It recovered its independence when the might of Macedon had waned, and allied itself to the coming greatness of Rome, while retaining its freedom and independence.

Later the importance of its position involved it in the ever recurring struggles for the Roman throne. In one of these struggles it was utterly destroyed by the Emperor Severus, at the end of the second century A.D. A little more than a hundred years later it was again entered by a conqueror, its fall settling the struggle between the Emperors Licinius and Constantine. To the Emperor Constantine, the capture of Byzantium meant something more than the possession of a rich and powerful city. He saw a good deal further than that.

Constantine was only a Roman in the widest sense of the word. He was provincially born; indeed his birthplace was that remote city of Nisch, where the Serbians of to-day have established their capital, having been driven by the Austrian guns from the more convenient city of Belgrade. He had seen service in many of the outlying parts of the Empire; his crown had been placed on his head at our own city of York. His title to be Emperor was proved by his recognition of two things. The first was the growing danger which threatened the vast and loosely

knit Roman Empire from the pressure of barbarian hordes from the East ; the second was the unsuitable position of Rome as capital of such an Empire, when constant military measures had to be taken against the invaders.

Before the capture of Byzantium he had been credited with the desire to set up a new capital of the Roman Empire. Rumour had assigned many different places, among them Sofia, now capital of Bulgaria, and Ilium, the site of ancient Troy. But what Constantine required was a seaport, where fleets and armies could be assembled together ; a trading centre, so that the new capital should not lack a large and prosperous civilian population.

It was further essential that the new capital should be much farther East than Rome, since the danger threatened from the East and the North-east. It was true that from Rome he could defend Italy ; and could defend it very effectually, with the aid of the mountain ramparts which had to be crossed by the probable invaders. But he wished to defend the whole Empire, and needed a city from which he could

issue and cut off small bands of invaders or face large ones. He found exactly what he wanted at Byzantium ; and history has shown the wisdom of his choice.

CHAPTER V

The New Rome

THE foundation of a new city was a solemn business to the Romans, and the pomp with which Constantine initiated the ceremony of marking out the city was intended to presage its future importance. Far beyond the bounds of Byzantium he traced its future limits, and only stopped when a circuit of twelve miles had been compassed. Then he sought a place for the city centre, and selected it where his camp had been placed, on the crest of the second of the seven hills on which the New Rome arose.

Here he set up the golden Milion, a point from which all distances in the Eastern Empire were in future measured. It was the centre of the new city, market place, and the spot was marked by the erection of a small building with seven pillars.

South-east of this point he chose the site for

the palace, clearing a large area facing the Sea of Marmora. He had a wall built for a distance of about a mile, running parallel to the shore from the lighthouse which marks the junction of the Bosphorus and Sea of Marmora. On this area was built the palace; and the same site was afterwards used by the Moslem conquerors of the city.

North-west of the palace he set up the Augustaeum, a great forum 1,000 feet in length and 300 in breadth. Between this and the palace itself he built the great baths of the New Rome, and north of the baths was the Senate House. Still farther west was the Hippodrome, and to the north of that the cathedral of St. Sophia, the predecessor of the Christian building that was to become a Moslem mosque. This group of buildings formed the centre of the New Rome.

Constantine took care to offer every inducement to the proper sort of citizens to settle in the New Rome. Many Roman senators and rising men received grants of land and honours for transferring their fortunes to the newly-built city. It had special attractions for two valuable

classes of the community. No inducements were needed to cause merchants and sailors to flock there.

In one matter only did the founder of the city fail. He had wished to impose upon it the name he had given it: the New Rome. But from its early days it received the name it still bears, the city of Constantine.

For a thousand years yet it was to be the rampart of Christianity against barbarianism. For so long it was to remain to the forces of heathendom simply Miklagrad: the great city. Its walls and its strong position were to discount many an attack from the infidel hordes, whose coming its founder so clearly foresaw.

With surprising rapidity the city grew, and added suburbs to itself. Pera, Galata, and even Scutari across the water on the Asiatic side, were soon its integral parts. And its merchants trafficked safely in the shelter of its walls, under the protection of its guarded seas.

Meanwhile with Rome it was very different. Constantine had seen the coming of the barbarian hordes, and had known that from Rome the

Empire could never be saved. Seven years after his death, a great struggle began between the Huns and Goths, which was the beginning of the collapse of the Western Empire. From its foundation the new city attracted citizens of every conceivable race. The dominant class were Greeks of the purest birth, men of the deepest culture and the finest artistic instincts. They were able to preserve in this stronghold all the seeds of learning and knowledge, while the rest of Christendom was crumbling to destruction under barbarian hands.

In art, in architecture, and in learning they founded schools of their own. Of their architecture there remains many a glorious specimen, including that mosque of St. Sophia that was for nearly a thousand years a Christian cathedral. It was built by Justinian to the design of the architect Anthemius of Tralles, and completed in the year 532 A.D.

The solid prosperity of the city advanced with each successive century. To its port came all the wealth of central Europe, brought down by the great river Danube and passing through

the Bosphorus to the great mart of the East. Similarly the produce of the rich plains of Southern Russia came, by means of the Volga and the Don, to the harbour of Constantinople. It was further the metropolis of the Aegean Sea and even of Egypt.

As for the trade with the Far East, conducted by means of caravans, there was no other route into Europe except through the golden gates of Constantinople. The rugs of Persia, the rich cloths and spices of the Indies, the porcelains and furs of China, all found their way into the markets of Constantinople. It was just as inevitable that the return trade from Europe to the East should find its depot there; it had to be handled from the harbour of the Golden Horn.

The gradual falling away of the New Rome from the ideals and customs of the Old Rome may have been due to this mixture of races. In any case the Greek aspirations did not coincide with those of Rome, especially the Rome of the later Empire. As a consequence many of the institutions of Rome suffered considerable modification at Constantinople.

Constantine, for instance, built a hippodrome and circus, but not an amphitheatre for gladiatorial displays. In Constantinople the most exciting sports in the hippodrome were the horse and chariot races, for which the building was designed. The killing of man by man or by wild beasts never took place there. It was not the intention of the founder that such spectacles should be provided; and the sentiment of Eastern Christianity was strongly opposed to them.

To the same sentiment may be ascribed the very marked modification which the slave customs of Rome suffered in Constantinople. Slaves were certainly kept, but their lot was lightened by many a possibility of freedom. The stigma of serfdom did not exist; a man might marry a slave girl and free her without comment. Finally there was no such thing as inherited slavery.

This softening of ideals was accompanied by a certain deterioration in the resisting qualities which involved the ultimate destruction of the Eastern Empire. This destruction was long de-

layed by two circumstances. The first was the method of selection of an Emperor. The throne was always open to any one who could prove that he was entitled to it. The proof was usually by an appeal to arms, which resulted in favour of the better soldier.

Thus the Eastern Empire fell at frequent intervals into the hands of some skilful soldier and statesman, who administered his office with wisdom, and led his armies with bravery and resource. In his task of defending the capital the second circumstance, its almost impregnable position, was of the highest importance. Defended by the sea on two sides, and on the third side by a mighty wall, Constantinople stood its ground for over a thousand years, practically unscathed.

When its time came to fall, it fell before none of the enemies in Europe who had threatened it so long, but before a heathen race attacking from its weakest side, the Asiatic borders.

CHAPTER VI

Turkey in Europe

CONSTANTINOPLE, from being the headquarters of the Christian faith, was now destined to become the stronghold of heathendom in Europe. Rome of the East could not resist the military power of the Ottoman Turks, and the old civilization fell before the fierce attack of the barbarian.

The migration of the Ottoman westwards was not a sudden rush so much as the gradual expansion of a forceful and military race. From the confines of Tartary they spread over the greater part of Arabia, and what is now Asia Minor. Just as their predecessors the Saracens had taken first Damascus and then Jerusalem, so one by one the important cities on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles fell into the hands of the Ottomans.

For the continuance of their military power

their Sultan Mahmud instituted a fighting force which for the next 300 years was to hold the armies of Europe in terror. Each year a thousand young Christian boys were taken from the conquered towns, and brought up to the use of arms. They were forced to adopt the Moslem faith, they were carefully reared and trained, and grew up to be the most skilful and daring soldiers of their times. Thus was formed the legion of the Janissaries, the nucleus of an army which struck fear into the hearts of all who encountered them.

Being of a race separate from their employers, these mercenaries were not troubled with considerations of politics, or indeed with any matter except the exercise of arms. They were subject to an iron discipline, their traditions imposed on them uncomplaining endurance under all circumstances; but they had many privileges and were amply rewarded for their work. These legions of renegade Christians were turned by the Ottomans against the first country of Christianity.

In the reign of the Sultan Orkhan a sort of

alliance existed between the Ottomans and the Emperor Cantaczenus. The Emperor had given his daughter to the Sultan in marriage, and an understanding, not very creditable to the Christians, existed between them. The cause of trouble was a difference between the Emperor and the Genoese, who were allied to the Turks.

The result was that Suleyman Pasha crossed the Dardanelles on a raft with eighty men, and the Turks entered Europe for the first time. They have never since been dislodged. Three thousand Ottomans followed Suleyman, and the Turks laid siege to Gallipoli, which fell in 1358. A year later the Sultan Orkhan died, and his successor Murad turned his serious attention to European conquest. His armies penetrated as far as the Danube; but it was left for his successor to deal the telling blow at Christianity.

Bayezid, the Sultan in question, encountered a strong army drawn from all parts of the Roman Empire, at Nicopolis; and utterly routed them. He was himself to be defeated and wrecked by Tamerlane, that Timour the Tartar who espoused the cause of the Christian against

the Turk. The battle of Angora was won by Tamerlane because of the overwhelming superiority of his numbers, but it was, for the time, a knockdown blow for the Turk.

Thus Bayezid, who had laid fierce siege to Constantinople, was not to realize his dream of capturing the city. That was deferred for another half century, the walls falling before Mohammed II in 1453. An important part in the reduction of the city was played by artillery, the first use of siege guns on a large scale recorded in history. Later, it will be shown, the Turks were quick to grasp the use they could make of artillery in keeping the city they had won by this means.

The Turkish entry was accompanied by such scenes as marked the capture of an important city in the Middle Ages. Many of the more prominent citizens died painfully, but far more were captured and cast into slavery. It is estimated that no less than 60,000 of the inhabitants of the city, for the most part women and children, were enslaved by their conquerors. So Constantinople fell into the hands of the infidel.

The change was marked by the conversion of the Cathedral of St. Sophia. The crosses in the basilica were thrown down, the mural hangings were torn away, and the beautiful mosaics of the walls were thickly coated with whitewash. Not half a century ago a French architect was called in by the Sultan to repair the great building, and he uncovered these mosaics, finding them fresh and beautiful as on the day the artists executed them. He covered them with canvas to preserve them from any damage, and the walls were once more whitened, as are those of every mosque.

Thus the last days of the classic era passed away, and modern history opened. Under the influence of the Oriental conquerors, the very classical Greek tongue became corrupted into the dialect we know as modern Greek. The last stronghold of culture became an oriental city, and a Mohammedan city at that.

Mohammed at once made the city the capital of Turkey. He wisely saw that to maintain its former prosperity it must retain the old class of merchant citizen who had thriven on its trade

for so many centuries. Many of the merchants had fled before the siege of the city, or had escaped the horrors which followed its capture. He set to work to appease these with a view to recalling them to residence there. His first step was an effective one;—he let it be known that he placed no barrier upon the practice of the Christian religion. The Christian clergy were treated with every show of consideration, and a nominal patriarch was actually appointed.

The Greeks, the Genoans, the Venetians and all the other trading classes flocked back to Constantinople, and soon the normal course of trading life was resumed there. Both Genoans and Venetians had factories there, the Genoans especially enjoying remarkable privileges. A special quarter of the city was reserved for them, and round it they had built a strong wall. Here they lived under the government of their own bailiff, a race apart from their fellow-citizens.

The Greeks proved themselves more pliable, and suited themselves well to the ends of their conquerors. They were sailors and fishermen, as well as merchants and craftsmen; and the

growth and power of the Turkish fleet were due to the supply of capable Greek sailors upon whom they could draw.

The presence of the infidel in the first city of Christendom was accepted by the Christian nations with a philosophy which is easy of explanation. The Turk had valuable trading privileges to dispose of; he could prevent the ships of any nation from passing through the Dardanelles. The value of these privileges was so highly appreciated that the most Christian nations competed with one another for them at the Court of the Sultan himself.

Thus in 1578 we find one William Harburn, or Harebone, appearing at the Court of Amurath III with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, asking for his friendship and the right for the English to trade through the Dardanelles. Harburn remained at the Sultan's court, making good progress in advancing the British interests, and was succeeded by William Burton as ambassador. The latter obtained the privileges that were sought, though they were abrogated later.

It will be possible to show that by dispensing

these trading privileges wisely and with care, the Turk made friends for himself among the Powers of Europe, and guarded against a growing power in the East to whom the possession of Constantinople was as essential for further expansion as it was to the Ottoman power itself. For this reason the right of passage through the Dardanelles was a concession jealously guarded, and granted only under exceptional circumstances. It was one of the forces that kept the Turk in his stronghold of Constantinople.

CHAPTER VII

The Sick Man's Stronghold

"NEW Rome," writes Freeman, "is still held by the barbarian invader. Set free some day she must be; but what will be her fate? Who then shall be her ruler? In the Eastern peninsula history and Nature combine to make Constantinople the only head; no other seat of rule is possible; but it is not in the same way clear who is the natural ruler.

"Set her free from the stranger, and there is no single nation waiting to receive her. Constantinople can never be the mere head of a province; it must be the head of an Empire. But it does not follow that it can now be the seat of an universal Empire."

These words, written more than a generation ago, illustrate a problem that is more than a century old. In his message to the Sultan of Turkey at the outbreak of the war with Ger-

many, King George reminded him of "the friendship of more than a century" that has existed between Great Britain and Turkey. It was a friendship that saved the Ottoman Empire from extinction on more than one occasion, and can be traced to the European upheaval that followed the Napoleonic war.

In that upheaval the power of Turkey, which had long been waning, began to crumble away. In the same era Russia, long regarded as a remote and oriental nation, began to rank among the European powers. The shrewdness of the blow Russia had dealt at France was recognized by all the Western nations, but nowhere more forcibly than in Great Britain. Russia had in the previous generation established her title to all the rich cornlands bordering on the Black Sea, and her advance south and west was viewed with apprehension and dismay.

More especially, as has already been shown, was value set upon the privilege of trading through the Straits of the Dardanelles. Turkey had shown, while still a considerable power, how jealously that privilege could be guarded,

and how good a bargain could be struck by the judicious dispensation of it.

Britain was then, as now, the first naval power in the world. It was more to her interest than that of any other nation that all sea passages should be kept open, and that no other strong power should be in a position to close any valuable waterway upon her commerce or her warships. For such a country it was advantageous that the control of so valuable a passage should be in the hands of a weak nation rather than in those of a strong one. The danger of misuse would be considerably less, the possibility of preventing misuse would be considerably greater.

The friendship between Great Britain and Turkey was founded, therefore, more upon material than sentimental ground. Then, as now, there was nothing very lovable about the Turk. In the struggles of the subject nations of Europe who have thrown off the Turkish fetters, British sympathy has always been cast against the Turk. His continued and wanton persecutions of Christians have offended the religious spirit of the

country. The corruption that has always characterized his financial methods has been a grave menace to the capitalists who advanced money upon the Turkish National security, only to find the consideration by no means a valuable one.

Nor has Turkey been a staunch and loyal friend. The atmosphere of intrigue that always pervades the court of an absolute monarch existed in a marked degree in the Palace of the Sultan. It was complicated by the Turkish custom of polygamy, for the politics of Turkey were not infrequently the politics of the harem. A variety of other circumstances combined to render the position of British Ambassador at Constantinople one of the most difficult and important in the diplomatic service.

These were matters of but trifling importance compared with the growing power and ambition of Russia.

The power of Turkey in Europe was broken and the Empire dismembered by a series of wars with Russia, extending, with intervals, over a century and a half. In every war Russia gained territory that Turkey lost, and the efforts

of the Slav nation went far to setting up the independent states which we now call the Balkan States. All the territory now held by them once formed part of the Turkish Empire.

Long before the Ottomans crossed from Asia to Europe, Rurik, king of the Russians, descended from his capital of Novgorod to the Black Sea and laid waste the shores of the Bosphorus. Half a century later the Russians came again, with two thousand small boats, and appeared before the walls of Constantinople. The great city was too strong for them, and they went away after plundering the settlements in the Bosphorus and the Euxine.

Yet a century later we find the Russians allied to the Eastern Empire, as devout Christians and members of the Greek Church. This relation was preserved until the Turk captured Constantinople. Until that time no Russian act was ever conceived in hostility to the city which they recognized as the seat of the faith, of which they were the dutiful children. But soon after the coming of the Turk, he began to receive warnings of the growing power of the Slav. In

the reign of Peter the Great the Russians penetrated as far south as the Black Sea, and occupied Azov at the mouth of the river Don.

It is curious, when Russian enterprise is taken into consideration, to find that Turkey was driven to espouse the cause of Poland when seeking a pretext for declaring war. Yet this took place in 1768, and the battle-ground of the two warring nations was Moldavia and Wallachia, the countries that are now Rumania. From this territory the Turks were driven, and the Russians set up a protectorate there, which they had afterward to abandon.

Meanwhile a Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean under Admiral Orloff, avowing the intention of helping the Greeks to independence. When the Greeks rose, the Russians deserted them; but they beat the Turks in the naval battle which followed. The English encouraged Orloff to attack the Dardanelles, but this the Russians refused to do. The Turks were tired of the quarrel by this time, and signed the treaty of Kustchuk Kianardi in 1774. The principal clause of this treaty threw the Dar-

danelles open to Russian merchant ships, which now had the right to sail on all Turkish waters and the river Danube.

The Empress Catherine followed up this advantage by remarkable activity in the region of the Black Sea, and finally seized the whole of the Crimea. When the Turks prepared to resent this, Russia made an astonishing display of military and naval force. Three great armies threatened the Turkish frontier, and fleets in the Baltic and the Black Sea demonstrated the preparedness of Russia for war. An actual conflict was averted by this display of force, and a new treaty was signed, the treaty of Constantinople.

By this Turkey admitted Russia's claim to the whole of the Crimea, Taman and Kuban; to which places Catherine restored their original titles of Caucasus and Taurida.

In another year or two a fresh quarrel arose, out of which Russia gained new advantages, amplifying those of the treaty of Kainardi. This treaty was known as the treaty of Jassy. The danger of Napoleon had the effect of throw-

ing these two inveterate enemies into the same camp, for the French invasion of Egypt seriously antagonized the Sultan. In 1798 the world was treated to the strange spectacle of the massed fleets of the two powers sailing through the Dardanelles in company. But Turkey did not abide for long with her unnatural ally, and a few years later had espoused the cause of the French.

The next treaty made between these nations was that of Adrianople in 1829, after a war during which Russia had occupied the territory that is now Rumania no less than eight separate times. A more serious breach between the two nations broadened out into the Crimean War of 1853-54. Once more Turkey was the sufferer, for in the years following she was bereft of Rumania, Serbia and Bulgaria, having lost Greece early in the century.

In the last encounter of all, the real aim of Russia was made manifest at last. When the fighting of 1878 was suspended by an armistice made at Adrianople, it was found that the Russians, disregarding the terms of the armistice,

were advancing on Constantinople with the avowed intention of occupying the city. It was then that Great Britain interfered strongly on behalf of the Turk, and the British fleet was ordered to enter the Dardanelles. The war concluded with the lamentable peace of San Stefano, the terms of which were revised at Berlin.

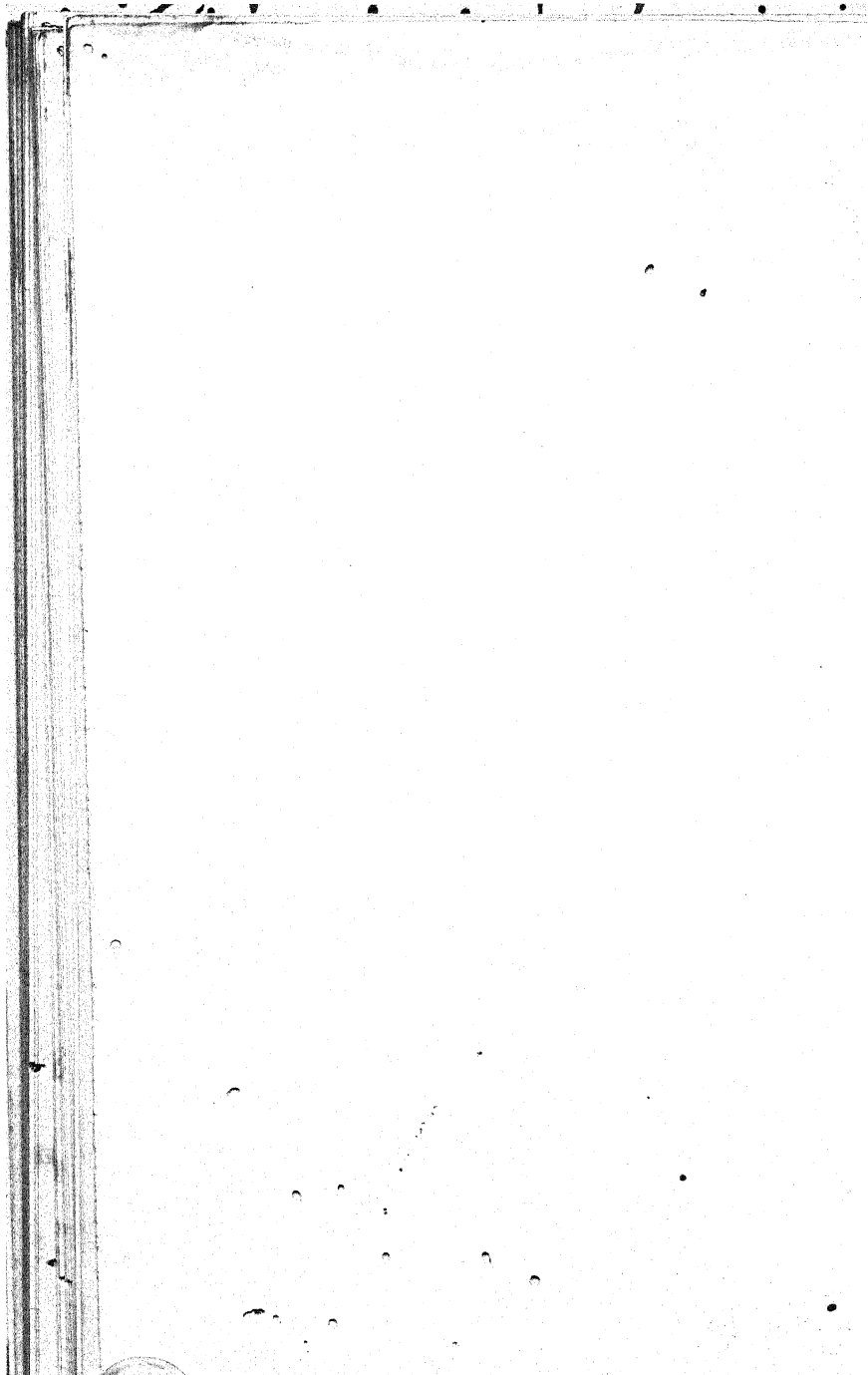
The agreement made by the Powers at Berlin to keep the Turk at Constantinople has made that city a veritable stronghold for him ever since. It will be shown that after war had broken out with Germany, Britain and the Powers allied to her preserved the utmost patience with Turkey in the face of extreme provocation.



[Photo, Aljori.]

Trenches and Guns at Seddul Bahr.

In the distance a panoramic view of the town, now held by the Allies.



CHAPTER VIII

The Mastery of the Dardanelles

ONCE in undisputed possession of Constantinople, the Turk took care that no doubt should exist as to the mastery of the Dardanelles. As early as 1460 the Sultan Mohammed II fortified the entrance to the Straits, and further forts were added from time to time by subsequent Sultans. Turkey's first assertion of mastery of the passage of the Straits was made by closing them to the Venetian Republic and the Knights of St. John.

From that time forward they remained closed even to merchant traffic, until the Sultan Suleyman made an abortive attack upon Vienna. When this was repulsed under the very walls of the city, he yielded to the unbearable pressure brought upon him and opened the Straits to the merchant vessels of Venice and France. British ships were not long in obtaining the

same right, but it was not until 1774 that the Dardanelles were opened to Russian merchantmen from the Black Sea.

In this policy the Turk had, at the outset, the support of Russia herself. It must not be overlooked that from her very beginning as a nation Russia was a self-contained nation, developing from within, and had more to fear at that time from interference from outside than from any check to her commerce with more westerly nations.

As the power of Russia developed, however, the desire of that nation to maintain a fleet in the Black Sea, and to use the Dardanelles as a means of exit, became more manifest. The policy of the Western nations of Europe led them to oppose any such arrangement, and in 1809 we find Great Britain entering into an agreement with Turkey to prevent the warships of any nation passing the Dardanelles. This arrangement was broken by Turkey herself when she made the Treaty of Khurkar-Iskelesi with Russia in 1833. By this treaty the Sultan Mahmud II granted to Russia the sole right of

passage, in return for Russian assistance against the Khedive of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, who was in revolt at the time.

Owing to the pressure of the other powers this permission was revoked in 1841, when a treaty regarding the Straits was made forbidding their passage by any warship in time of peace. This arrangement held good until the Crimean War, when the Sultan permitted a combined French and British fleet to pass through the Dardanelles and to anchor off Constantinople. The Crimean War was ended by the Treaty of Paris, one of the main points of which was the settlement of the right of passage through the Dardanelles.

The effect of the Treaty of Paris is to establish the principle that there should be no Russian or Turkish fleet in the Black Sea. Article XI of the Treaty runs: "The Black Sea is neutralized; its waters and ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the Powers possessing its coasts or any other Power."

As a corollary to this decision a Convention was attached to the Treaty to the effect that the Sultan should allow no foreign warship to pass the Dardanelles in time of peace.

Russia signed the Treaty of Paris, but later took occasion to repudiate it. The occasion was the conclusion of the war of 1870, between France and Germany, when the Czar found himself in a strong position and his European opponents in a weak one. The occasion was a favourable one to put an end to the neutrality of the Black Sea, and Russia formally protested against the principle.

A conference of the European Powers was held in London in 1871, Lord Granville presiding. The Russian protest was considered, and the Treaty of London was signed, permitting Russia to maintain a fleet in the Black Sea. But the treaty was emphatic on the point that warships were not to pass through the Dardanelles in either peace or war, the right to stop them being entrusted to the Sultan, who, of course, governed both shores.

The wording of the clause in question was as

follows:—"The principle of the closing of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, such as it has been established by the separate Convention, is maintained with power to his Majesty the Sultan, in time of peace, to open the said straits to vessels of war of the friendly and allied Powers, in the event that the Sublime Porte should consider it necessary—in order to secure the execution of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris."

The full meaning of this was later deliberated at the Congress of Berlin, where the Marquis of Salisbury put forward the contention that the Sultan was not bound automatically to close the Dardanelles upon any warship preparing to make the passage of them, but that the closing was an act of free will on his part. Count Schuvalloff, for Russia, maintained that the Straits were closed against all foreign warships automatically; but no decision on this point was taken.

The Treaty of Berlin, however, confirmed the provisions of the Treaty of London as far as they gave the Sultan power to close the Dar-

danelles, and that power has been exerted by Turkey without question ever since.

It is one thing to hold the mastery of the Dardanelles, and another thing to enforce it. So at least the Turks have found on many occasions in the history of their occupation of Constantinople. Even in the days of sailing ships, when vessels must have been at the mercy of the forts, except with a very favourable wind, the passage of the Straits has been forced in the face of opposition. More recently the same feat has been performed by warships steaming through the narrow Straits and anchoring off Constantinople.

There are, on the other hand, numerous instances of the closure proving effective to prevent a hostile fleet from venturing to attempt more than a blockade of the entrance. After the establishment of the forts at the entrance, the first nation to enter with hostile intent were the Venetians, who on three occasions took their warships into the Straits, and once gave battle to a Turkish fleet there.

Later, in 1770, seven Russian warships, com-

manded by Admiral Elphinstone, made a hostile entry, and sailed through the Straits without the Turks being able to molest them. An even more remarkable demonstration was made by Admiral Duckworth with a British fleet in the year 1807. His squadron consisted of eight sail of the line, two frigates, and two smaller craft.

He entered the Dardanelles from the Mediterranean, being favoured by a following wind, and had actually passed the Narrows before any attempt was made to defend the Straits. Even then the resistance was very feeble, and with no more damage than is represented by the loss of six men killed and fifty-one wounded, the fleet entered the Sea of Marmora and anchored off Constantinople. His position there was complicated by the circumstance that there was no intention of bombarding the city, and without proceeding to that extremity his demonstration was doomed to failure.

Within a few days the whole country was armed against him, and there was nothing for it but to get back by the best way he could find.

Unfortunately he was not favoured by either wind or current on his return journey. He was forced to tack about under the very guns of the forts at the Narrows, and these took full advantage of the opportunity. The guns were charged with huge stone shot weighing as much as 800 pounds, and the British squadron suffered very severely. On the return passage he lost twenty-nine killed and 139 wounded, having proved little by his expedition except the carelessness of the Turks. Without that factor he would probably not have succeeded in getting past the Narrows on his journey to Constantinople.

Once outside he resorted to the more effective means of a close blockade, and want of food brought the Turks to reason where his display of daring had failed. The same course was successfully followed, in preference to an attempt to force the passage, by the Russians in 1829.

During the Crimean War a combined fleet of British and French warships passed through the Straits and entered the Black Sea, of course with the permission of Turkey. The same permission was not granted to Admiral Hornby,

who took a fleet up to Constantinople in 1878. The vessels were the *Alexandra*, *Agincourt*, *Achilles*, *Swiftsure*, *Temeraire*, *Sultan*, and the dispatch boat *Salamis*. When they got off the forts of the Narrows, a message was delivered by the governor of the forts to Hornby. It was that the Turks, "actuated by motives of humanity," refused to fire. Hornby then proceeded on his way to Constantinople, delivered the ultimatum with which he was charged, and returned unmolested.

It was after this occurrence that the arming of the forts was taken in hand by the German experts, and the defences of the Dardanelles became really formidable. In modern times the forts were supported by minefields very cleverly and effectively placed, and they have proved too much for any of Turkey's recent enemies. The Italians, for instance, at the time of the Tripolitan War, took their fleet to the mouth of the Straits and then showed the discretion that is the better part of valour. Similarly in the Balkan War no attempt was made by the Allies to force the entrance to the Straits, or

to test the formidable minefields that were laid within the Dardanelles.

It is worthy of note, however, that the great Powers objected to the closing of the Straits on this occasion, and all sent warships through the Dardanelles to anchor off Constantinople and, if necessary, protect the lives and property of the Christian inhabitants. On that occasion Germany made a great show, sending her newest battleship, the afterwards notorious *Goeben*, while Great Britain was content with less naval display. A small thing, but one which those who know the Turk declare had a potent influence in driving him to the destruction which now awaits him.

CHAPTER IX

The German Plot in Turkey

FOR quite a generation Germany has exercised a great influence over Turkey; an influence which increased as time went on, and ended in precipitating the Ottoman Empire into a war which must mean its eventual ruin. The beginnings of this German influence can be traced in transactions in arms, for the Turks spent money freely with Krupp's, just as they borrowed freely from the German financiers. In their effort to reorganize their army after the blow of the Russo-Turkish War they turned to Germany as a model, and German methods were taught to the Turkish soldiers by German officers, at the head of whom was General von der Goltz.

With the Sultan Abdul Hamid German influence finally became paramount, thanks to the skilled diplomacy of the German Ambas-

sador, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein. It was due to the influence of this genial giant that a German company obtained the notorious concession to build the Bagdad railway. The original concession, granted in 1899, was for an extension of the railway from Konieh, in Asia Minor, to Basra, on the Persian Gulf. The line was to pass through Bagdad, and the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the sphere of British influence in Persia.

It is interesting, in the light of what has since happened, to examine the reception at the time of this scheme by the other Powers concerned. The open hostility of Russia was the most notable result of the announcement when first made. Very obviously such a railway would have strategical as well as commercial significance. It was not to be expected that Russia would favour the construction of a line by means of which Turkish troops could be rapidly moved to the Russian frontier or to Persia.

France already had railway interests in Asia Minor, and it was proposed to conciliate the holders of these with a liberal offer of shares

in the new road. In France the matter was regarded from the financial standpoint purely, the political significance of the concession being overlooked. And in 1899 there was a strong disposition among French financiers to support the railway.

England was also invited by Germany to put capital into the new railroad, the German condition for the granting of this doubtful privilege being that the Indian mails should be carried upon the line, when constructed. When the scheme for the control of the road came to be elaborated, it was found that Germany proposed to keep it entirely in German hands. In other words, France and Great Britain were asked to provide the bulk of the money for a railway to be managed in German interests.

From that time forward the opposition to the railway grew in this country, the reasons for it being embodied in a statement made in the House of Lords in 1903 by Lord Lansdowne, who said—

“It seems to me that our policy should be directed in the first place to protect and. pro-

mote British trade in these waters. In the second place I do not think that we should suggest that these efforts should be directed towards the exclusion of the legitimate trade of other Powers. In the third place, we should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified position in the Persian Gulf by any other Power *as a very grave menace to British interests, and we should certainly resent it with all the means at our disposal.*"

Then, at the prompting of the German Ambassador, the Turkish Government proposed to raise the Turkish Customs duties from eight to eleven per cent. and to devote the surplus money to the building of the railway. It must be understood that the Powers control the Turkish Tariff, in their capacity as administrators of the Ottoman debt, in the interest of the bondholders. The proposal was considered by the Powers, and permission to raise the Customs tariff for such a purpose was refused.

It was seen by this time that the whole scheme was an attempt to advance German business interests in the East at the expense of Turkey,

and at the same time to forge a weapon against the Triple Entente, to be used in such circumstances as have now arisen. An understanding arose between the three nations of the Entente that no assistance should be given in the construction of this railway, unless more attention were paid to their own interests, and the preponderance of German influence in the scheme was removed.

The failure of the attempts to finance this road was adroitly used by Baron Marschall to increase his influence with the Palace, and he had the support of the Kaiser himself, given in no half-hearted fashion. The incident of the Mediterranean tour and the speech made at its conclusion by the Kaiser will be fresh in the minds of most readers. In that speech the Kaiser made a direct bid for the support of Mohammedans, declaring that he took the religion and those who practised it under his protection.

With the Turkish revolution one might have expected a critical time for German influence at Constantinople. Baron Marschall had always

been an acceptable personality to the Sultan, and was known to the Young Turk party as the representative of the power which had gained most from the regime of corruption they sought to end. It will always be considered the supreme achievement of this astute diplomatist that he was soon in higher favour with the new regime than he had been with the old.

He approached the Young Turks with a manner of the greatest frankness. "It is true," he said in effect, "that I endeavoured in every way to conciliate the tyrant who has now been deposed. That was but my duty. And now that a constitutional form of government has been set up, with how much greater pleasure will I perform my duties, since they do not include anything so distasteful as that was to me."

Thus the revolution, instead of shattering the German influence in Turkey, only served to consolidate it. It was so hardy a plant that it even survived the military disillusion of the Balkan War, when the Turkish army, trained to German tactics by von der Goltz, and armed

by Krupp, crumpled up before the despised Balkan allies. Indeed, that humiliation was made to serve as an excuse for the appointment of a German military mission, headed by General Liman von Sanders, to undertake the reorganization of the Turkish army.

That appointment, like the Bagdad railway concession, was opposed most uncompromisingly by Russia. The First corps of the Turkish army stationed at Constantinople wielded no little political influence. The appointment for five years of a German general to so influential a post was held to threaten the outlet to the Mediterranean, which it was imperative Russia should preserve. The event showed that there was only too good ground for the Russian fears. The appointment of Liman Pasha was made at the end of 1913, and within six months he had made the Turkish army a German tool.

He found a ready accomplice in Enver Bey, the Minister for War, who was still smarting under the blow of the Balkan War. How this bellicose individual, egged on by his German accomplice, managed to throw his country into

war in spite of the exertions of a genuine peace party in Turkey, is told in another chapter. Some of the results of Liman Pasha's administration may be recapitulated here.

When the European War broke out, repeated and solemn protestations of neutrality were made by the Turkish Government. At the same time German garrisons were being installed in the forts of the Dardanelles, and a German officer was given command of the defences. German officers by scores arrived each day at Constantinople, and German guns and ammunition as well. Six weeks after the declaration of war by Germany, the British Ambassador at Constantinople was forced to make the following complaint to the Grand Vizier :—

“ Constantinople and the neighbourhood formed nothing but an armed German camp. Many more German officers and men had arrived, and there must now be between 4,000 and 5,000 German soldiers and sailors here. We all, including his Highness, were at the mercy of Liman Pasha and the Minister of War.”

The last German inducement has still to be

mentioned. By the end of September, the German cause looked as badly as it had done at any time during the whole period of the war up to the present. The full extent of the disaster on the Marne had now been realized, the Russian danger was manifest and pressing.

The intention of the Turkish war party was to seize an opportunity for intervention in the war when the cause of the Germans was flourishing and intervention was likely to be popular. The German desire was to induce intervention at a time when it would do most good to Germany, and cause distraction in the pressing ranks of Germany's enemies. Germany chose her time at the beginning of October, and her means in accordance with Turkish custom.

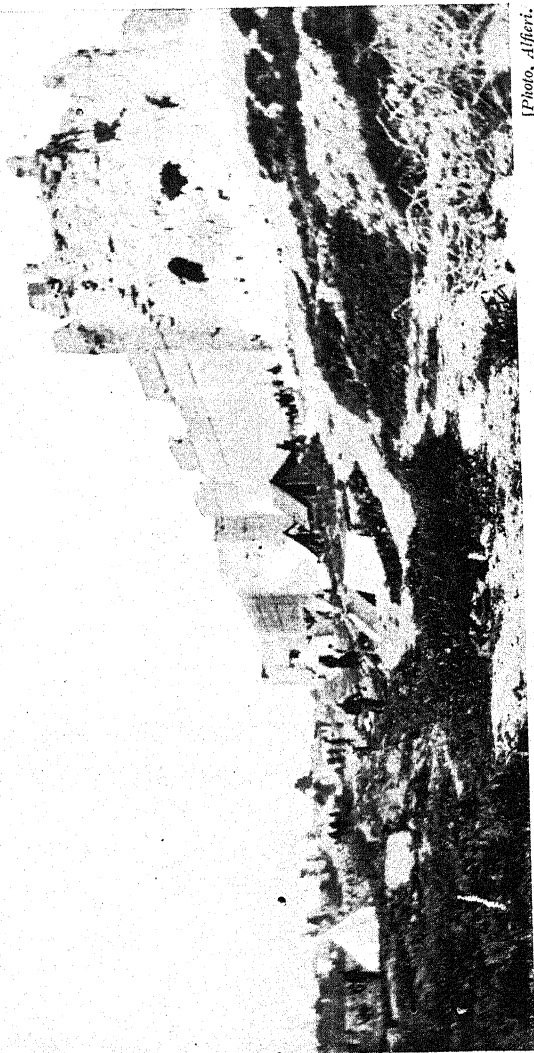
Early in October, the British Ambassador in Constantinople reports large consignments of German gold began to arrive in Constantinople. In all, some two or three millions sterling arrived in the course of a few days. It hardly seems worth while to say where it went, or that the participation of Turkey in the war was no longer a matter of doubt.

CHAPTER X

Turkey Seals her Doom

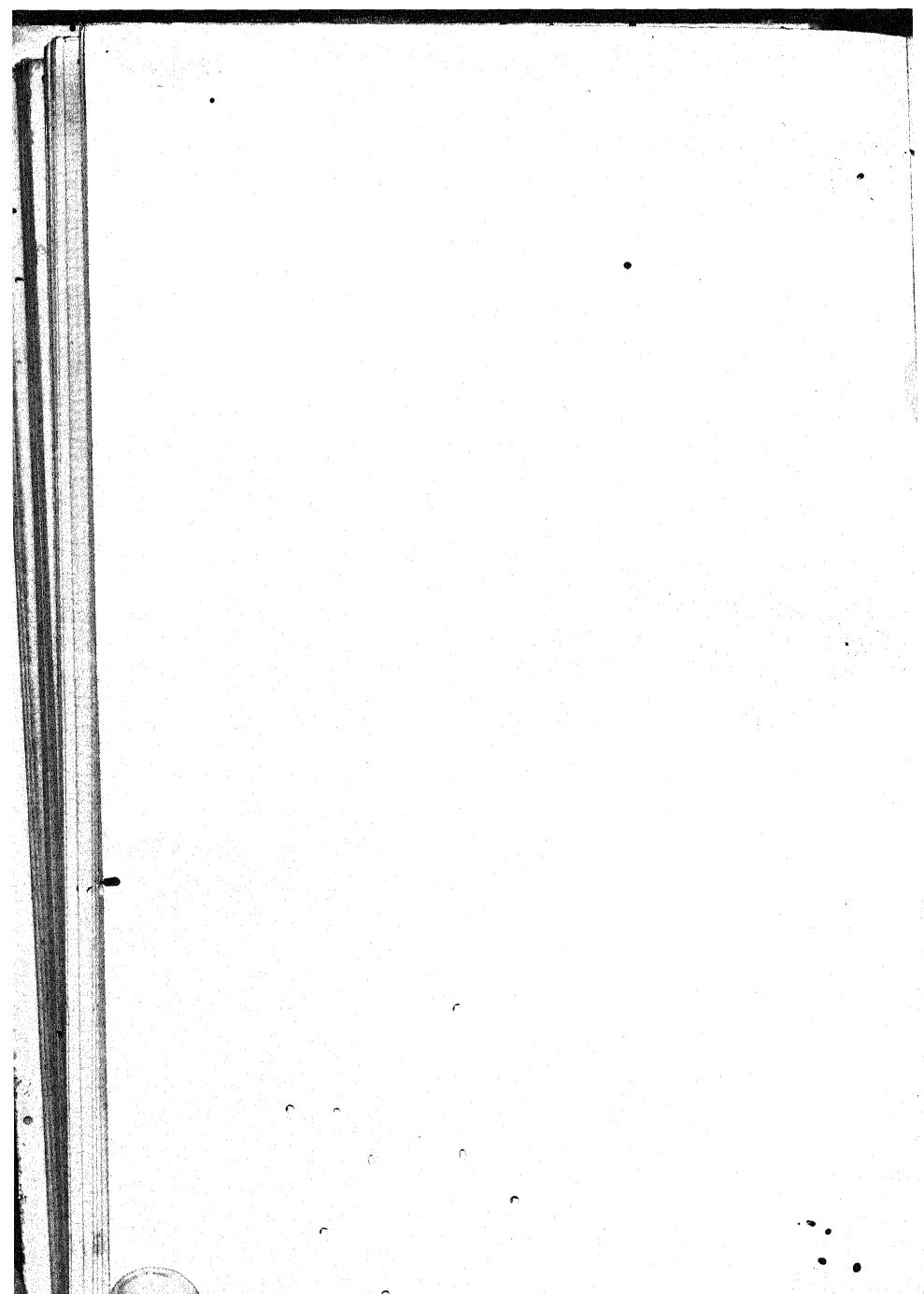
THE dogged persistence with which Turkey blundered into war against the Allied Powers forms one of the most surprising chapters of the amazing history of the year 1914. In the first place there was not a shadow of legitimate grievance on her part, though exception was taken by the Turkish Government to the requisitioning of some warships that were being built in England to the order of the Turkish Government. This act of the British Government was in accordance with international usage, and was necessary under the circumstances.

It was described by the Grand Vizier as an unfriendly act. But while complaining of this act the Turkish Government reiterated promises of neutrality; and, in return, the Powers of the Entente guaranteed to Turkey her integrity in any peace that might be made. There



Photo, Alferi.

The Fortress of Seddul Bahr, Exterior View.



were abundant reasons why those Powers, and especially Great Britain, should wish to prevent Turkey from participating in the conflict.

When the war was declared there were in the Mediterranean two German warships, the battle cruiser *Goeben*, and the light cruiser *Breslau*. These ships, after bombarding one or two towns on the African coast, were hotly pursued by the British and French ships, and almost captured in the Straits of Messina. From that position they extricated themselves in some manner that has yet to be recorded, and on August 10 entered the Dardanelles.

Turkey's position toward these ships was perfectly clear; she must, after the due time had elapsed, intern them in accordance with the rules of international law. Instead of doing so, the Turkish Government stated they had bought the ships from Germany, and that their officers and men would be allowed to return to Germany. The British Government insisted on this taking place at once, and on the ships only reappearing as Turkish ships with Turkish crews. To this end Admiral Limpus, who was

at the head of a British mission for the reorganization of the Turkish fleet, asked that the ships should be provided with Turkish crews at once. He was promptly removed from his command, and asked to remain within the Ministry of Marine. It then became necessary for Great Britain to withdraw the naval mission, and this was done.

In the meantime the German crews stuck to the ships, and even repaired some damage that had been done to the *Goeben* in a skirmish with the British cruiser *Gloucester*. A month after the ships entered the Dardanelles the German crews were still aboard them, the explanation being that they were being kept to train the Turkish crews. The promise to send away the German crews was made time after time; but it was never kept.

During all this period the promises of neutrality were frequently renewed, though they were accompanied by demands which amounted to conditions. These demands were:—

The abolition of the Capitulations.

The return of the requisitioned warships.

Renunciation of any interference with the internal affairs of Turkey.

If Bulgaria should intervene against the Triple Entente, Western Thrace to be given back to Turkey.

The Greek Islands to be returned to Turkey.

The Capitulations referred to in these demands are certain privileges secured by treaty to subjects of foreign Powers residing in Turkey ; they are not tried, for instance, by Turkish Courts, but by consular jurisdiction. Following the demand for their abolition, the Grand Vizier announced that the Capitulations had been abolished ; in other words, that Turkey was taking advantage of the situation to break its solemn treaties. Against this step all the Powers protested—including Germany ; but the British Ambassador was instructed to consider and discuss reasonable concessions on the subject. This moderate tone on the part of the British Government was due to the fact that the Peace party in Turkey laid some stress on the desired abolition of the Capitulations, and

the British desire was to strengthen in every way the hands of the party for peace.

One of the principal objects in striving to keep Turkey out of the war was the wish to keep the Dardanelles open for commerce. But now Turkey, though bound by treaty to permit the passage of merchant vessels, began to hold British ships up. Grain ships and ships with passengers were detained at Constantinople and refused papers; grain ships were even stopped in the Straits and ordered to put back to Constantinople. The obvious object was to requisition grain and other stores, when the time should come.

The excuse made was that mines had got adrift from the field, and that the vessels were detained so that no accidents should happen. In the meantime the mining of the Straits was extended, the work being supervised by a German in such a way as practically to close the Straits to merchant traffic.

Another question constantly under discussion was Egypt, which country, though acknowledging Turkey's suzerainty, was being adminis-

tered by Great Britain. The report was spread, and repeated in high quarters, that the intention of Great Britain was to annex Egypt. To this report a definite statement was made, to the effect that if Turkey remained neutral and Egypt quiet, there would be no alteration in the status of that country.

At the same time preparations were being openly made for the invasion of Egypt from Asia Minor ; German officers appeared in Syria and began training troops there, arms were distributed in large quantities to the Bedouins, and Dr. Prüffer, a German attached to the Embassy at Constantinople, was busily engaged in Syria inciting the people to attack Egypt. In Egypt itself Turkish and German emissaries were busy trying to stir up a revolt.

It was then that the appeal to the religious belief of the Turk was made. Moslem emissaries appeared everywhere, stirring up feeling against Britain and in favour of Germany. The Turkish Press was employed to print statements that were traceable to the German Embassy, all of the most untrue description. They repre-

sented Germany as the friend of the Mohammedan faith, and Britain as its bitter enemy. The statement appeared in these newspapers that the Ameer of Afghanistan had declared a Holy War and invaded India. The ignorant Moslems of whole districts were found to believe that the Kaiser had embraced the faith of Islam, and was fighting for Islam against Russia.

Throughout this maze of intrigue it is easy to follow the tactics of the combatants: Germany and Great Britain. Germany had just as much interest in dragging Turkey into the war as Britain had in keeping her out of it. But it is indeed difficult to follow the mental processes of the Turk, and to gauge the motives which involved him in war. The temptation to play off one side against the other was a great one; and by handling the opportunity skilfully the Turk might have consolidated his position in Europe for another century. That such was the aim of some at least of the Turkish Ministers seems tolerably certain. The lack of skill they displayed, and the force of their more warlike colleagues, lost them the opportunity for ever.

The breach occurred at the end of October, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Allied Powers to avoid it. On the 26th of that month a strong force of armed Bedouins invaded Egypt ; and three days later Turkish torpedo boats bombarded Odessa. The Allies demanded the dismissal of the German naval and military missions, as a disavowal by Turkey of these acts of hostility ; the demand was not complied with, and war was declared.

The consequences of this folly on the part of Turkey were elucidated a few days afterwards by Mr. Asquith in his speech delivered at the Guildhall on November 9th :—

“ When this war began three months ago we made it clear, in conjunction with our Allies, to the Turkish Government that if they remained neutral their Empire should not suffer in integrity or in authority. The statesmen of that unhappy polity, sharply divided in opinion, vacillating in council from day to day, allowed their true interests to be undermined and overborne by German threats, by German ships, by German gold. They were tempted, to one

futile outrage after another—first the lawless bombardment of Russian open ports, then the equally lawless intrusion into Egyptian territory—until the Allies, Russia, France, and ourselves, who had withstood with unexampled patience a protracted series of flouts, veiled menaces, and impudent equivocations, were compelled to yield to the logic of facts and to recognize Turkey as an open enemy.

“I wish to make it clear, not only to my fellow-countrymen, but to the world outside, that this is not our doing. It is in spite of our hopes and efforts and against our will. It is not the Turkish people, it is the Ottoman Government that has drawn the sword, and which, I do not hesitate to predict, will perish by the sword. It is they and not we who have rung the death knell of the Ottoman dominion, not only in Europe, but in Asia. With their disappearance, at least, will disappear, as I at least hope and believe, the blight which for generations past has withered some of the fairest regions of the earth.

“We have no quarrel with the Mussulman

subjects of the Sultan. Our Sovereign claims amongst the most loyal of his subjects millions of men who hold the Mussulman faith. Nothing is further from our thoughts or intentions than to initiate or encourage a crusade against their creed. Their Holy Places we are prepared, if any such need should arise, to defend against all invaders and keep them inviolate.

"The Turkish Empire has committed suicide, and dug with its own hands its grave."

CHAPTER XI

The Balkans on the Fence

THE condition of the Balkan States under Turkish rule was anything but enviable, yet religious and other differences prevented any united action among them for quite five hundred years. The Turkish method was to foment the jealousies existing among them, and to emphasize the cardinal points of difference in their religious creeds, setting Greek Church against Catholic. Each State shook off the Turkish yoke separately—Bulgaria so recently as 1878—and they were no more united as free states than they were in bondage.

There remained a large proportion of men of their own race still under Turkish rule, and the persecutions to which these Christian subjects of the Sultan were subjected at last formed a rallying point. In 1912 a Balkan League was formed, with the avowed object of protecting

the Christians of Macedonia from the intolerable cruelty of the Turk. From this league Rumania held aloof, but Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro all subscribed to it.

After a short and half-hearted attempt at negotiation, the attack on Turkey was made by all four States at once. The result was a surprise to the world. The Bulgarians and Serbians proved too much for the Turks at every encounter ; they could not even withstand the Greeks and the Montenegrins. Defeated at two great battles of Kirk Kilisse and Lule Burgas, they were driven back to the very walls of Constantinople. They lost Adrianople, and the only question left to be settled was the exact condition of peace.

At the opening of the war, Count Berchtold had distinctly stated on behalf of Austria that at the end of the war the Powers would not permit any modification of the territorial *status quo* of Turkey. This statement was also collectively made to the Porte by the Powers. But in the face of the overwhelming defeat of the Turkish arms, the Powers were not able to live up to their undertaking. They had unwillingly to sub-

mit to see the Sick Man deprived of another part of his estate. This is the grievance of Enver Pasha and the war party in Constantinople.

Peace was signed in London in the early part of 1913, Turkey giving up all the mainland west of a line drawn from Enos to Midia, and the Greek Islands as well. The new kingdom of Albania was constituted, a large sum was paid to Montenegro by way of compensation; and the Balkan allies began to quarrel forthwith.

Bulgaria quarrelled with Serbia and Greece on the division of the spoil, and at the critical moment Rumania sided with Serbia. On June 30, 1913, the second Balkan war broke out, in which the power of Bulgaria was utterly crushed. There can be no doubt that the action of Rumania saved the Balkans from a long-protracted and suicidal war. But it left a bitter taste behind it.

As a result of its splendid fighting against Turkey, Bulgaria finished with a loss of 100,000 of the pick of her fighting men. In hard cash she had spent £40,000,000. The conquered terri-

story of Macedonia had been divided between Serbia and Greece. Thrace, won by her from Turkey, had been reclaimed by that power. Finally Rumania had deprived her of a large tract of fertile land, occupied by an industrious population.

Had the Balkan States refrained from these suicidal disputes, it is quite likely that the European war would not have broken out; it is at least certain that some other pretext must have been found for it. But the differences occurred, the Austrian attack was made on Serbia, and Europe was plunged into the great war. From the outset, of course, Serbia and Montenegro have participated, acting with the Triple Entente.

From the very beginning of the struggle the attitude of the other Balkan States was of the utmost importance. All that Germany could hope or expect was neutrality, and to secure that end she put forward every effort. The probability was, however, that some, if not all the States, would join the Allies, since motives of policy and interest impelled them to that course.

The effect of an unanimous rising in the Balkan peninsula against Austria would have been very unpleasant for that Power, which in the early days of the war had much to do to resist the attacks of the Russians and Serbians. The case of Serbia might have been the case of any of them, most certainly it might have been that of Rumania. Russia must have acted as guardian of the Slav interest in that case equally with the case of Serbia. Bulgaria, too, was the war pupil of France ; was armed with French weapons and trained by French officers. No reason for participation in the war was lacking.

The initial difficulty was the former quarrel. Bulgaria would willingly have come to Serbia's aid, but required the return of the territory wrested away after the Balkan war. Rumania preferred to wait until she saw what Bulgaria might do. Greece was governed by a Royal Family closely allied to that of Germany ;—the Queen of Gr  ce is the Kaiser's sister. The Balkan States did not move.

Then Turkey came into the war, and a new motive for participation was supplied. But by

this time these States occupied a comfortable position astride the fence, and had begun to calculate possibilities. They saw, what the whole world saw, that the war had everywhere been carried into the territory of the Allies. Germany was in possession of all but a fractional portion of Belgium, and was administering it as a new German province. The massed millions of Russia were rolled back by the Austro-German forces each time they came forward to the attack. The German line stretched across the north of France, immovable for a whole winter. The citizens of the Balkans formed the opinion that the Germans were winning, as far as the war had gone.

This buffer of neutral Balkan territory was as much a convenience to Austria and Germany as it was a hindrance to the plans of Russia. With Rumania in the war, a fresh point of attack and a vulnerable one would be opened on the Austrian flank. A neutral Rumania merely signified a useful medium by which arms and war material could be conveyed from Germany to Turkey. But Bulgaria and Rumania con-

tinued to stare sullenly at one another, and neither would consent to lift a finger.

Meanwhile in Greece a crisis had arisen over the non-participation of the nation in the war. M. Venizelos, the Prime Minister, had popular feeling behind him in his desire that the country should range itself beside the Allies. He had to meet a conservative opposition backed by the Royal tie already alluded to. The crisis culminated in the resignation of M. Venizelos. This act was rapidly followed by the dispatch of a letter from the Kaiser to his sister the Queen of Greece, the object of which was to restrain Greece from taking up arms. It was a tissue of unveiled threats.

So, in mutual distrust and craven fear, the Balkan allies sat "on the fence" regarding the European conflagration, when the attack was launched against the Dardanelles. The point has to be emphasized that they could do Germany no greater service, and the Allies no greater disservice, than by preserving their neutrality. It has to be repeated that self-interest, gratitude and every other motive must have prompted

them to interfere, and that financial difficulties were easy of adjustment.

All these things are to be taken into account when the day of final settlement arrives. The petty jealousy that has retarded the development of the Balkan States for five centuries has again proved the obstacle to the realization of the ambitions of the best of their leaders. It still remains to be seen what effect the fall of Constantinople will have upon their wavering councils.

CHAPTER XII

The Defences of the Dardanelles

THE Turks had not been long in possession of Constantinople when they sought, with the aid of the heaviest guns known, to make it impregnable from sea attack. They began fortifying the Straits as long ago as 1460, when Mohammed II built two forts at the Mediterranean entrance. Very considerable fortifications were added by Mohammed IV in 1650, especially at the Narrows; and from time to time other works were added to the defences of the Dardanelles.

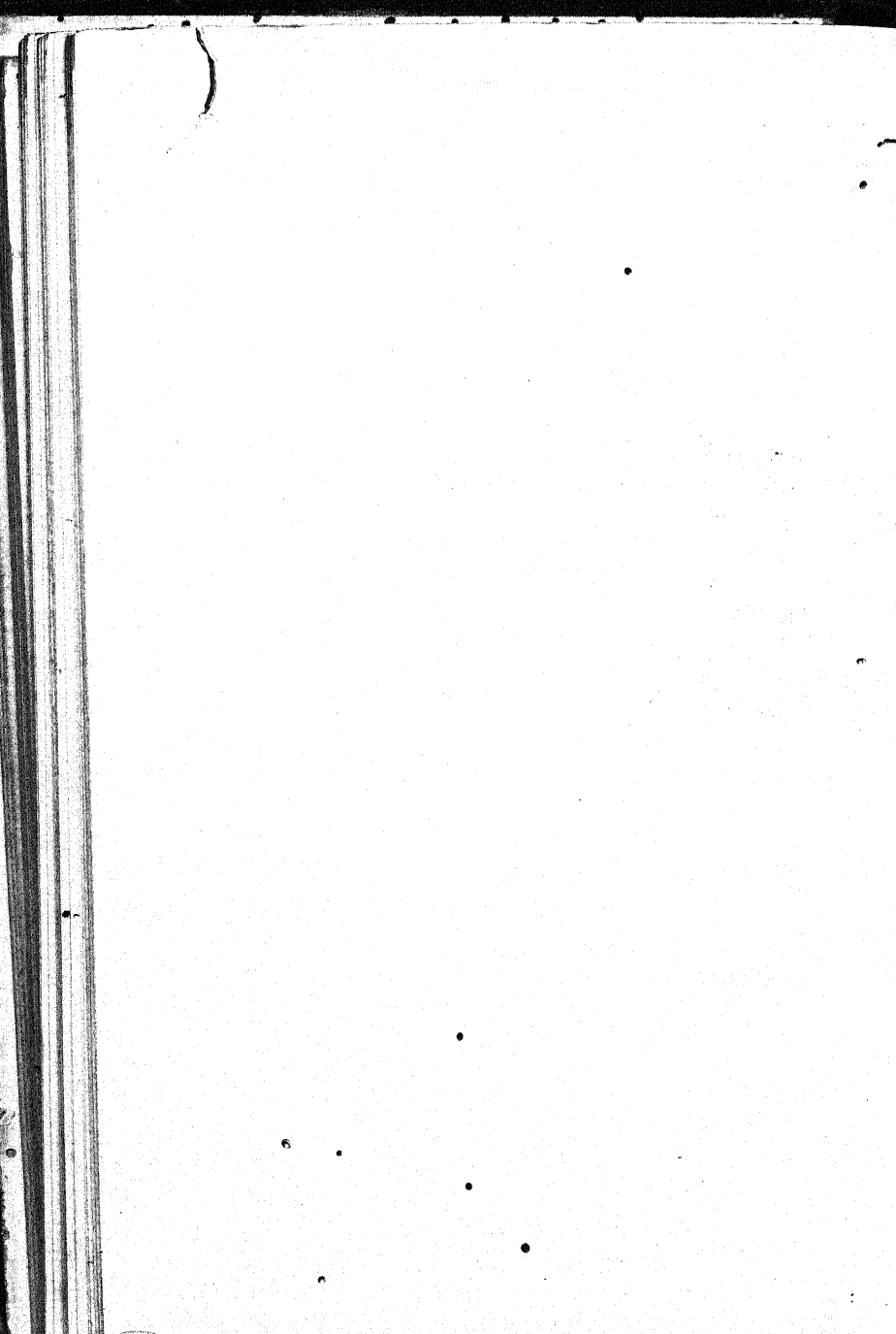
The whole scheme of fort defence was overhauled by the Germans in 1870, when the defences were equipped with the biggest and most powerful guns then in existence. Among these was a 50-ton gun by Krupp, and twenty-five 11-inch Krupp guns, as well as smaller ordnance of the best patterns then existing. The Balkan War



[Photo, A/Heri.]

Cape Helles Fort.

Silenced by the battleships and dismantled by a landing party. In the distance can be seen the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles.



afforded the Germans another reason for strengthening the fortifications and bringing the guns up to date ; while during the first six months of the European War, German experts were constantly at work reinforcing the defences of the channel.

From official dispatches published since the attack of the Allied fleets was begun on February 20, 1915, the following forts can be described by the numbers given to them in Admiralty documents. By means of the accompanying map and these distinguishing letters the position and strategic value of each fort can be judged :—

- A. Cape Helles (Europe) : Two 9·2-inch guns.
- B. Seddul Bahr (Europe) : Six 10·2-inch guns.
- C. Orkhanieh Tabia (Asia) : Two 9·2-inch guns.
- D. Kum Kalossi Tabia (Asia) : Four 10·2-inch and two 5·9-inch guns.
- E. Dardanus (Asia) : Four 5·9-inch guns.
- F. (Europe)
- G. (Asia)
- Hh. Kephez (Asia)
- I. (Europe)
- J. Rumilieh Medjidieh Tabia (Europe) : Two 11-inch, four 9·4-inch, five 3·4-inch guns.
- K.
- L. Hamidieh II Tabia (Europe) : Two 14-inch guns.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M. | } | Forts at Kilid Bahr. | |
| N. | | | |
| O. | | | |
| P. | | | |
| Q. | | | |
| R. | | | |
| S. | } | Forts at Chanak. | |
| T. | | | Namazieh (Europe) One 11-inch, one 10.2-inch, eleven 9.4-inch, three 8.2-inch, three 5.9-inch guns. |
| U. | | | Hamidieh I Tabia (Asia): Two 14-inch and seven 9.4-inch guns. |
| V. | | | Hamidieh III (Asia): Two 14-inch, one 9.4-inch one 8.2-inch, and four 5.9-inch guns. |
| W. | | | (Asia) |
| X. | | | (Do.) |
| Y. | } | Forts at Nagara. | |
| Z. | | | (Do.) |
| AA. | | | (Do.) |
| BB. | (Europe). | | |
| CC. | (Do.) | | |
| DD. | (Do.) | | |
| EE. | (Do.) | | |

It will sufficiently localize these forts if it is explained that A, B, C, D are situated at the mouth of the Straits; E, F, G, H and I are between the mouth and the Narrows; and the forts J to T inclusive form a dense group on the European shore at the Narrows. Collectively they are known as Kilid Bahr, or the Key of the

Straits. The powerful forts U and V are situated at Chanak, on the Asian side of the Narrows; while the other forts specified are between the Narrows and Gallipoli, Y, Z and AA being situated at Nagara.

The forts are further protected by extensive minefields, the first of which had been laid across the passage from Kephez to Fort F on the European side. A further and even more extensive minefield had been laid at the entrance to the Narrows, between Chanak and Kilid Bahr. These were anchored mines, but even more dangerous were the floating mines launched from higher up the Straits, and borne down to the attacking vessels by a four-mile current.

For the further protection of the Straits there was an abundance of field guns and light howitzers, very mobile considering their power. These could be moved from place to place as the necessities of defence might dictate. Their effectiveness against an armoured ship was practically nothing, but they were very useful for attacking mine-sweepers and torpedo craft. To this end their extreme mobility was expected to prove

valuable, and the strategists who formed these expectations were not disappointed.

Reference must further be made to the torpedo tubes installed at intervals along either shore. They constituted a grave danger in combination with the mines and the swift current flowing down the channel.

The question whether such forts as these could be reduced from the sea alone had long been decided in the negative by the strategists. The principle is laid down in a passage by Admiral Mahan, which has met with general acceptance among experts —

“Ships are unequally matched against forts in the particular sphere of forts; just as cavalry and infantry are not equal, either to the other, in the other's sphere. A ship can no more stand up against a fort, costing the same amount of money, than the fort could run a race with a ship. The quality of the one is ponderousness, enabling great passive strength; that of the other is mobility.”

It will be observed that only one qualification is made to this dictum; forts and ships must

cost the same amount of money. In other words, the armament of both must be approximately equal. The interesting test to which the theory was to be put in the Dardanelles violated this condition, since the attacking ships were armed with guns far more powerful than anything the forts contained. In this, doubtless, lay the hopes of success for the attack.

In another direction a new value was discovered for the mobile ship as against the immobile fort. Much of the firing was directed at unseen objects, and at enormously long ranges. In a dual between a stationary fort and a mobile super-dreadnought, carried on with the lofty hills of the Gallipoli peninsula intervening, great advantage necessarily lay with the mobile body.

This advantage was emphasized by a factor never considered by Mahan, the observer in the aeroplane. By this means, and by the excessive range of such guns as the 15-inch mounted by the *Queen Elizabeth*, the advantages of ponderousness possessed by the forts were negatived, and the forts, *qua* forts, were proved to have much the worst of the deal.

In the account that will be given of the attack on the Dardanelles, it will be shown that their best defence was not the forts, but the natural advantages for defence of the Straits and the skilful way in which they were utilized.

CHAPTER XIII

The Attack from the Sea

EARLY in February, 1915, a very considerable fleet of warships had been collected by the Allies in the Eastern Mediterranean. It comprised some tolerably antique battleships, as well as the newest and most powerfully armed vessel in the British Navy. Complementary to the warships was a squadron of mine-sweepers, and the aeroplane ship *Ark Royal*, with a number of flying machines.

Among the battleships and cruisers the more notable were :—

BRITISH BATTLESHIPS.

Ship.	Completed.	Displacement. Tons.	Thickest Armour.	Guns.
<i>Majestic</i>	1895	14,900	9 in.	4 12-in. 12 6-in.
<i>Prince George</i>	1896			
<i>Canopus</i>	1900-2	12,950	6 in.	4 12-in. 12 6-in.
<i>Vengeance</i> ..				
<i>Albion</i>				
<i>Ocean</i>				

THE DARDANELLES.

BRITISH BATTLESHIPS.

Ship.	Com- pleted.	Dis- place- ment. Tons.	Thickest Armour.*	Guns.	
<i>Duncan</i>	1904	14,000	7-in.	4 12-in.	12 6-in.
<i>Cornwallis</i> ..					
<i>Triumph</i>	1904	11,800	7 in.	4 10-in.	14 7.5-in.
<i>Swiftsure</i>					
<i>Irresistible</i> ..	1901	15,000	9 in.	4 12-in.	12 6-in.
<i>Agamemnon</i> . . .	1908	16,500	12 in.	4 12-in.	10 9.2-in.
<i>Lord Nelson</i> . .					
* <i>Inflexible</i> ..	1908	17,250	7 in.	8 12-in.	16 4-in.
* <i>Queen</i>					
<i>Elizabeth</i> .	1914	27,500	13 in.	8 15-in.	12 6-in.

BRITISH CRUISERS.

<i>Euryalus</i> ...	1903	12,000	6 in.	2 9.2-in.	12 6-in.
<i>Dublin</i>	1912	5,400	—	8 6-in.	
<i>Sapphire</i>	1905	3,000	—	12 4-in.	

FRENCH BATTLESHIPS.

<i>Suffren</i>	1903	12,527	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.	4	12-in.	10	6.4-in.
<i>Gaulois</i>	1899	11,082	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	4	12-in.	10	5.5-in.
<i>Bouvet</i>	1898	12,007	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	2	12-in.	2	10.8-in., 8 5.5-in.
<i>Charlemagne</i>	1899	11,260	16 in.	4	12-in.	10	5.5-in.
<i>Jauréguiberry</i>	1895	11,900	18 in.	2	12-in.	2	10.8-in., 8 5.5-in.

It is worthy of note that, with the exception of the *Queen Elizabeth*, the *Inflexible*, the *Aga-*

* Dreadnought battle cruiser and Dreadnought battleship respectively.

memnon and *Lord Nelson*, all these were practically obsolete British battleships. None of the four French vessels was of very modern design, but some of the British ships were real veterans. Before the outbreak of the war, the *Vengeance* had been in port with only a nucleus crew; the *Cornwallis* was a unit of the Third Fleet; and the *Triumph* was in reserve. The *Majestic* and *Prince George*, of course, antedate these in design, and their use in important operations would have created wild alarm in the bosoms of ante-war critics and experts.

On February 19, however, this squadron began the bombardment of the outer forts of the Dardanelles. Their plan of operations was to silence the forts at the mouth of the Straits, and then send in the minesweepers to clear a passage for the entrance of the warships. The following official account of the first day's operations was issued by the Admiralty on February 20:—

“Yesterday at 8 a.m. a British Fleet of battleships and battle cruisers, accompanied by flotillas, and aided by a strong French squadron,

the whole under the command of Vice-Admiral Sackville H. Carden, began an attack upon the forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles. The forts at Cape Helles and Kum Kale were bombarded with deliberate long-range fire.

"Considerable effect was produced on two of the forts. Two others were frequently hit, but, being open earthworks, it was difficult to estimate the damage. The forts, being outranged, were not able to reply to fire. At 2.45 p.m. a portion of the battleship force was ordered to close and engage the forts at closer range with secondary armament.

"The forts on both sides of the entrance then opened fire, and were engaged at moderate ranges by *Vengeance*, *Cornwallis*, *Triumph*, *Suffren*, *Gaulois*, *Bouvet*, supported by *Inflexible* and *Agamemnon* at long range. The forts on the European side were apparently silenced. One fort on the Asiatic side was still firing when the operation was suspended owing to failing light.

"No ships of the Allied Fleet were hit.

"The action has been renewed this morning after aerial reconnaissance. His Majesty's aero-

plane ship *Ark Royal* is in attendance with a number of seaplanes and aeroplanes of the Naval Wing."

This brief message sufficiently explains the use of the antiquated warships; their mission was to go in and bombard the forts at close range, while the newer and more powerfully equipped vessels poured in their missiles from the long distance permitted by the range of their guns. As a matter of fact, they had the outer forts outranged in these preliminary operations.

For some days after the delivery of the first attack the weather prevented a resumption of operations. The spring North Wind was blowing down the Straits behind the current, making very rough water off the mouth of the Dardanelles. It also rendered the task of the aerial observers impossible, and as bad light was added to their other difficulties, nothing could be done.

On the 25th it was possible to resume, and in this fresh attack the *Queen Elizabeth* played a strong part with her 15-inch guns. She made such excellent practice at long range that the two 9.2 guns in Fort Helles (A) were soon silenced.

The *Agamemnon*, *Irresistible* and *Gaulois* were operating on forts B, C, D at long range, and so accurate was their fire that it was possible before the close of the day for the older vessels to go in to a close range, and reduce all four forts to silence. Mine-sweeping operations were at once begun, screened by torpedo craft, and continued on the next day.

It was then possible for two old ships, the *Albion* and the *Majestic*, to enter the Straits, swept clear of mines for four miles from the entrance, and deliver an attack on Fort Dardanus (E). In the meantime landing parties set to work on the four forts silenced on the preceding day, and demolished them entirely. Some hidden guns near the mouth were also destroyed, and so ended a good day's work.

Four days later the passage had been cleared of mines for nine miles from the entrance, the sweepers doing their work under heavy fire, but well covered by the torpedo craft. The *Triumph*, *Ocean* and *Albion* then entered the Straits and delivered an attack on fort H on the Asiatic side. The fort replied, and the ships

had also to sustain the fire of field guns and light howitzers. Meantime four of the French ships shelled the batteries across the Gallipoli peninsula near Bulair. On the following day (March 2) fort H was again attacked by the *Canopus*, *Swiftsure* and *Cornwallis*, and they were in turn shelled by the fort lettered I, on the European shore. Fort I was silenced, and the ships withdrew.

Nothing of further importance occurred till March 5, when the *Queen Elizabeth* delivered a terrible attack upon the chief of the forts of Kilid Bahr. These are the forts lettered J, L and T. In all twenty-nine shells from the 15-inch guns were dropped across the Gallipoli peninsula into these forts. The magazines in fort L blew up, and the other forts were reported badly damaged.

Next day the great guns were turned on the two forts on the Asiatic side of the Narrows, lettered U and V. From a range of twelve miles the *Queen Elizabeth*, supported by the *Agamemnon* and *Ocean*, hurled her huge shells into these strong forts. A number of the

older vessels and the French ship *Suffren* entered the Straits and bombarded forts E and F. They were hotly peppered by concealed guns from all directions, but no really serious damage was done.

Next day the four French ships, and the *Lord Nelson* and *Agamemnon* began the direct bombardment of the forts of the Narrows. Explosions occurred in forts J (Europe) and U (Asia), and both forts were silenced.

By this time the trouble from concealed guns had become acute. In order to locate them it was necessary for the airmen to fly very low, and some thrilling adventures were experienced by several of the pilots.

The attempt on the Narrows culminated on March 18, and the events of that day cannot be told better than in the language of the official dispatch, dated March 19:—

“ Mine-sweeping having been in progress during the last ten days inside the Straits, a general attack was delivered by the British and French Fleets yesterday morning upon the fortresses at the Narrows of the Dardanelles.

"At 10.45 a.m. *Queen Elizabeth*, *Inflexible*, *Agamemnon* and *Lord Nelson* bombarded forts J, L, T, U and V; while *Triumph* and *Prince George* fired at batteries F, E and H. A heavy fire was opened on the ships from howitzers and field guns.

"At 12.22 the French squadron, consisting of *Suffren*, *Gaulois*, *Charlemagne* and *Bouvet*, advanced up the Dardanelles and engaged the forts at closer range. Forts J, U, F and E replied strongly. Their fire was silenced by the ten battleships inside the Straits, all the ships being hit several times during this part of the action.

"By 1.25 p.m. all forts had ceased firing. *Vengeance*, *Irresistible*, *Albion*, *Ocean*, *Swiftsure* and *Majestic* then advanced to relieve the six old battleships inside the Straits. As the French squadron—which had engaged the forts in the most brilliant fashion—was passing out, *Bouvet* was blown up by a drifting mine and sank in 36 fathoms, north of Aren Kioi village, in less than three minutes.

"At 2.36 p.m. the relief battleships renewed

the attack on the forts, who again opened fire. The attack on the forts was maintained while the operations of the mine-sweepers continued.

"At 4.9 *Irresistible* quitted the line listing heavily; and at 5.50 she sank, having probably struck a drifting mine.

"At 6.5, *Ocean* also having struck a mine, both vessels sank in deep water, practically the whole of the crews having been removed safely under a hot fire. The *Gaulois* was damaged by gun-fire. *Inflexible* had her forward control position hit by a heavy shell, and requires repair.

"The bombardment of the forts and the mine-sweeping operations terminated when darkness fell. The damage to the forts effected by the prolonged direct fire of the very powerful forces employed cannot yet be estimated, and a further report will follow.

"The losses of ships were caused by mines drifting with the current, which were encountered in areas hitherto swept clear, and this danger will require special treatment.

"The British casualties in personnel are not heavy, considering the scale of the operations;

but practically the whole of the crew of the *Bouvet* were lost with the ship, an internal explosion having apparently supervened on the explosion of the mine. The *Queen* and *Implacable*, who were despatched from England to replace ships' casualties in anticipation of this operation, are due to arrive immediately, thus bringing the British fleet up to its original strength.

"The operations are continuing, ample naval and military forces being available on the spot. On the 16th inst. Vice-Admiral Carden, who has been incapacitated by illness, was succeeded in the chief command by Rear-Admiral John Michael de Robeck, with acting rank of Vice-Admiral."

CHAPTER XIV

The Efficiency of the Fleet

READING between the lines of the official account which concludes the last chapter, it is possible to construct the plan underlying the attempt of March 18. It had been proved by experience that any hope of clearing away the great minefield before the Narrows must be abandoned. The presence of the battle-ships themselves in the Dardanelles was not sufficient to protect the mine-sweepers at this dangerous work. Beyond a certain point they could not operate, because of the heavy fire from the forts that could not be silenced.

The plan was then formed, it appears, of attempting to force the Narrows in spite of the minefield. This might involve the loss of several ships, but it was hoped that the others would pass the Narrows and be able to silence the forts that were obstructing further progress in

the work of mine-sweeping. For the success of this scheme it was necessary that the forts at Chanak and Kilid Bahr should be temporarily silenced, and this task was entrusted to the *Queen Elizabeth*, operating from outside the entrance to the Straits.

The attack was finally abandoned because these forts could not be silenced, and the passage through a minefield under the fire of heavy guns was an impossibility. The destruction of three of the ships engaged by floating mines was a circumstance not foreseen, but not bearing directly on the abandonment of the attack.

With the demonstration of March 18, and the regrettable loss of three battleships, the attempt to force the Dardanelles with an unsupported fleet may be said to have ended. Some of the reasons are apparent even from the bare facts in their official presentation. But the language of the official reports is subject to interpretation which gives other reasons for the end of the first phase of the attack on the Straits.

In the first place, it is necessary to give some detailed account of the effect produced by the

explosion of the huge shells from the 15- and 12-inch guns of the warships. The apparent effect of these explosions, as described in the official reports, was to silence the fort in which the explosion took place. Often the shell-burst sufficed to kill all the gunners, or, at least, to drive them to their bomb shelter until the bombardment had ceased. The apparent effect of the explosion of such a shell on the heavy earth-work of the Dardanelles forts was, to the onlooker, terrific. Vast quantities of rock and stone were blown hither and thither, and to all appearance the fort was reduced to a heap of ruins.

Yet the next bombardment found the same guns busily returning the fire of the warships, until another catastrophic shell put the gunners out of business. The real effect of these heavy shells on the guns themselves was witnessed by the landing parties who demolished the forts at the entrance of the Straits. These forts had been subjected to a terrific bombardment with big shells, and those who landed expected to find nothing but rubble there. They were surprised to discover most of the guns in good

order; the only exceptions to this rule being those guns which had been struck directly by shell. In short, the earthworks of the forts of the Dardanelles afforded a better protection from heavy shells than the concrete of Liège or Namur.

Another reason may be found in the skill with which guns were concealed among the hills along the shore, especially those of the Gallipoli Peninsula. The country on the European side lends itself well to the concealment of guns, and is of a nature to defy the efforts of the best airmen observers to locate them. The hidden guns also proved difficult to silence when discovered, the hills hindering the success of the signals given by the airmen. And when the range of one of these hidden guns was accurately gauged, it was no uncommon thing to find the gun "shamming dead," only to reappear in a new place when the next fleet attack was made.

The difficulties that beset the mine-sweepers were manifold, but the chief of them was the number of field pieces and mobile howitzers employed against them. These, by reason of

the ease with which they were moved from day to day, and the excellent cover existing for them, were practically impervious to the attack of the battleships which covered the sweeping operations. Thus the work of mine-sweeping was rendered very dangerous and difficult, and it was next door to impossible to give those engaged in it the requisite protection.

During the month which elapsed between the first bombardment and the final operations on the Narrows these difficulties increased. The preparations of the enemy became more effective as time went on, and each succeeding day demonstrated more clearly the necessity of a land force.

Within a week of the opening bombardment, the sweepers had cleared the passage of mines to a distance of ten miles from the mouth. They never succeeded, however, in clearing the main field, which lies just before the entrance to the Narrows, though the bravery and devotion with which they essayed the task is beyond all praise.

To the danger from this minefield has to be added the risk attached to the employment

by the enemy of mines floating down the current ; and how grave this risk was the disasters to the *Irresistible*, *Ocean* and *Bouvet* will testify. But the loss of those ships may be said to have coincided with the decision to back the sea force with a land force, rather than to have been the cause of it. The decision may be accepted as a confession that the conception of the first attempt to force the Dardanelles was a failure, though there was no shortcoming in its execution.

Indeed, the accurate shooting of the newer ships from long ranges, the gallantry in action of the older vessels at short range, the splendid bravery of the mine-sweepers under the most adverse circumstances, the reckless gallantry of the aerial observers, all make up another glorious chapter in the history of the British Navy.

It is impossible to leave this aspect of the subject without giving details of some of the outstanding work of the sailors engaged in this difficult adventure. Owing to some mishap, not yet explained, the submarine E 15 ran ashore

on Kephez Point, and her crew fell into the hands of the Turks. The vessel herself remained aground in a serviceable condition, and there was some danger that she would fall into the hands of the enemy, and eventually be used against us. She was located under the very guns of Fort H, and any attempt to reach her was fraught with extreme danger.

But the British Navy could not look on and see such a thing happen as the Turks gaining possession of a brand new British submarine, and a destroying expedition was organized. The expedition was commanded by Lieut.-Commander Eric Robinson, who had as junior officers Lieutenant Brook Webb and Midshipman Woolley, all of the *Triumph*. Lieutenant Claude Godwin, of the *Majestic*, was also attached to the expedition. It consisted of three picket boats, each equipped with torpedo gear, and manned by volunteers.

The boats entered the Straits in the dead of the night of April 18, and set out on their ten mile journey to Kephez Point. Their presence was discovered soon enough, and they had to

set about their work under the hot fire of the fort, not many hundred yards away. Quite 200 rounds were fired at them and one of the picket boats was sunk, but all the crew were saved by one of the companion boats. But the submarine was torpedoed and rendered useless, and the gallant adventurers returned to their ships with the loss of one man only.

Another gallant exploit was that of the *Amethyst*, which set out to cut the cable between Chanak and Kilid Bahr. This involved a dash through the minefields at the mouth of the Narrows, and under the heavy guns of all the forts that protect the Narrows. She was hit no less than twenty-two times during her dash, and of the gallant men aboard her, twenty-three were killed and thirty-seven wounded before she could return to the fleet.

The work involved by the attempt on the Straits is further evidenced by the record of the *Triumph*, which was in action seventeen times, was hit fourteen times and fired over 2,000 rounds of ammunition. Records equally glorious attach to other of the older ships engaged

in the desperate work of facing the batteries, hidden guns, and minefields in the Straits, the risks they took being in no way represented in the official accounts of the fighting.



[Photo, Aljori.]

A dismantled Fort.

It was battered down by the guns of the battleships, and the work was completed by a landing party.

CHAPTER XV

The Landing of the Army

THE unsupported attack from the sea having proved impracticable, the support of a large landing force was promptly requisitioned. Having grasped the factors which retarded the development of the attack from the sea, the functions of the landing force become perfectly obvious. The silenced forts must be promptly occupied and held, so that the intervals between the bombardments may not be employed in remounting the guns and reconstituting the strongholds. The sites of the hidden guns must be captured and the guns themselves put permanently out of action; no opportunity must be given for the use of field guns and light howitzers to hinder the work of the mine-sweepers.

In brief the work of the landing force involves nothing less than the capture and occupation of the whole of the Gallipoli Peninsula, as far,

at least, as the Narrows. If once that point of vantage be gained, the Asiatic shore can be dominated. Throughout the operations of February and March, comparatively little trouble was experienced from the enemy posted on that side of the channel, the chief resistance proceeding from the high ground of the peninsula.

It is still possible to speak only in the most general terms of the component parts and the strength of the landing force. A French contingent, consisting of troops from the South of France and native Moroccan soldiers, was sent east under the command of General d'Amade, the hero of many a French colonial campaign. The failure of the Turkish attack on Egypt released large bodies of troops, including the Australian and New Zealand Expeditionary Forces, from service there. Heavy drafts of the New Army were also sent direct from England to the scene of operations. The expedition was commanded by General Sir Ian Hamilton.

Time had been afforded the enemy to make elaborate preparations to resist their landing,

and to defend the country on both sides of the channel. Elaborate entrenchments were thrown up throughout the Peninsula, protected, after the German fashion, with lavish entanglements of barbed wire. A force of Turkish soldiers, estimated at 60,000 men, held the trenches prepared to contest every inch of ground. Full use was made of all the ordnance, heavy and light, which had been concentrated on the shores of the Dardanelles.

The opposition began with the first attempt at landing. Barbed wire had been stretched under the very sea to hinder the operation; deep pits lined with spikes had been dug on the shore; and beyond these barbed wire entanglements had been contrived in exposed positions, on which the fire of hidden guns was concentrated.

Nevertheless the landing was effected in three places on the same day, April 25. The French force landed on the Asiatic shore, not far from the ruined fort of Kum Kale. Another landing was successfully effected by the Australian and New Zealand Expeditionary troops, in the Bay

of Saros, at a spot not far from Gaba Tepe. The third, and main landing, was effected at five points on the extrême end of the peninsula.

The landing operations were covered by a terrific bombardment from the whole allied fleet, in which the Russian cruiser *Askold* took part. Some of the warships penetrated the Dardanelles as far as the very edge of the minefields, and rained shells on the forts at the Narrows. As the details will show, the whole of the landing was effected successfully, thanks to the great gallantry displayed by every one concerned, sailors and soldiers displaying an equal devotion and contempt of death.

The landing of the Australians took place on the morning of April 25. For many of the men engaged it was a first experience of actual fighting, and the feat of arms is the more remarkable on this account.

Accompanied by three battleships, the fleet of transports steamed up to the chosen spot about midnight of April 24, and at 2 a.m. on the next morning the men entered the boats, which

made for the shore in the darkness. The exact landing was made at the foot of a precipitous cliff, a spot which the enemy had apparently neglected, not expecting an attempt would be made at so unpromising a spot.

A force of Turks, however, arrived on the spot in time to resist the actual landing, and the men left the boats under heavy fire from rifles and a Maxim gun. When this opened the Australians sprang into the sea, waded ashore, and formed a line. Then with a rush they swept the Turks from their shore trench at the point of the bayonet.

Half way up the cliff, which was covered with a dense scrub, the enemy held yet another trench, from which they poured a withering fire upon the approaching boats. Up the cliff went the first landing party, and without firing a shot made straight for the rifle flashes. Again the bayonet was used, and the Turks were cleared out of their second trench.

But the cliffs and the space at their top afforded close cover, and snipers lurked in every thicket. As daylight came, these did deadly

work upon each approaching boat. As the men landed they had to bolt for cover across the open beach, a fifty yard run before they ceased to be exposed. Even worse placed were the boat crews, for after landing their human loads, they had to row away with a heavy fire concentrated upon them.

Later in the morning fire was opened from two guns brought from Gaba Tepe by the enemy, and for the rest of the day the beach was remorselessly swept with shrapnel, as well as peppered by the countless concealed snipers. This did not suit the Australians and New Zealanders at all. They reached the top of the cliff, dug themselves in there, and with characteristic resourcefulness sought some way to check the fire of the snipers.

They consequently began to move inland, hoping to clear the scrub of the damaging snipers. In this work they encountered a strong force of Turks who were being brought up to resist and hinder the landing. Heavily outnumbered, the Colonials made a gallant fight of it, and fell back to their positions on the top of the cliff.

These they held against all attacks, and so permitted the work of landing to go on.

For fifteen hours they held these heights, under a shell fire that never ceased and in the face of a largely superior force. By the end of that time the enfilading guns had been located and silenced by one of the battleships, and the position became more tenable. But the sniping and the attacks were continued throughout the night, the gallant Colonials losing heavily. From time to time they made counter-attacks with the bayonet, routing the Turks, who have no relish for this kind of fighting.

Meanwhile practicable paths were being constructed up the cliff, ammunition and other stores were being conveyed to its crest, and the position so gallantly won was being made tenable. It was well that this was done, for on the next day the enemy delivered an attack in force. And here the warships came in. Seven of them lay off the coast to protect the position, and being now acquainted with the exact position of their own men could devote their attention to the Turks.

For hours they rained shrapnel on the cliffs. The *Queen Elizabeth*, far out at sea, set the example with an occasional shell from her 15-inch guns; a missile charged with 20,000 bullets. Each ship had its section of the cliff-top to attack, and the storm of shrapnel did terrible damage to the enemy.

These had also brought up more field pieces, and returned a hot fire, though nothing to compare with the shell fire from the warships. Their snipers, advantageously posted days beforehand, continued to do their worst, especially in picking off officers, among whom the casualties were very heavy. But after nine hours of it the Turks became demoralized by the shelling they were receiving, and their attack slackened.

Then came the final act of Colonial gallantry. The word of command was given all along the line, the flash of bayonets was seen, and with a rousing cheer Australians and New Zealanders rushed forward in a terrible charge. It is doubtful whether the best troops in the world could have stood long against that devoted rush. Certainly the ~~Turks~~ could not. They broke and

fied, leaving many prisoners and some machine guns in the hands of the victors.

These were disposed to follow up their advantage too closely, but their officers got them well in hand. Orders to dig in were given, and before night fell they were well entrenched, under cover which made the shrapnel fire comparatively harmless.

So the men from "down under" received their baptism of blood. It was no useless sacrifice they made, their dash and resource gained a very decided advantage for their country. And in that knowledge men wounded almost to death sang and cheered as though they were coming home from a picnic.

In describing their conduct Mr. Ashmead Bartlett writes:—

"I have, in fact, never seen the like of these wounded Australians in war before, for as they were towed among the ships while accommodation was being found for them, although many were shot to bits and without hope of recovery, their cheers resounded through the night, and you could just see amid a mass of suffering

humanity arms being waved in greeting to the crews of the warships. They were happy because they knew they had been tried for the first time in the war and had not been found wanting. They had been told to occupy the heights and hold on, and this they had done for fifteen mortal hours under an incessant shell fire without the moral and material support of a single gun ashore and subjected the whole time to the violent counter-attacks of a brave enemy led by skilled leaders, while his snipers, hidden in caves, thickets, and among the dense shrub, made a deliberate practice of picking off every officer who endeavoured to give a word of command or to lead his men forward.

“No finer feat of arms has been performed during the war than this sudden landing in the dark, this storming of the heights, and, above all, the holding on to the position thus won while reinforcements were being poured from the transports. These raw Colonial troops in those desperate hours proved themselves worthy to fight side by side with the heroes of Mons and the Aisne, Ypres and Neuve Chapelle.

CHAPTER XVI

Astride Gallipoli

WHILE the Australians and New Zealanders were making such a brave fight at Gaba Tepe, another and larger force was being landed at the extreme point of the Gallipoli Peninsula. Here five separate landings took place in the neighbourhood of Cape Helles. The shore at this place consists of low cliffs with rocky fore-shore; but here and there a stretch of sandy beach occurs. The country above the cliffs is flat and open for the space of a mile or two, and then sweeps upward into rough densely-wooded hills.

Five of these beaches were selected for landing, the plan in each case being to take possession of the cliffs overhanging the beach, and so to establish and protect an area on which guns and stores could safely be landed. The landing on the most westerly beach of all was accomplished

without opposition, and the party successfully occupied the top of the cliff. The next day they attempted to advance inland, but met with very severe opposition and were forced to retire. Ultimately they were re-embarked, having suffered very heavy casualties.

The landing on the beach farther south was covered by the *Implacable*, which steamed in as close to the shore as possible, and poured shrapnel on the cliffs. Under cover of this fire the landing party got a footing on the edge of the cliff, and dug in. Then they advanced half a mile inland, where they were violently attacked. Struggling desperately they fought yard for yard all the way back to the cliff top, but beyond there the enemy could not drive them. On the next day they were again able to advance and to establish themselves securely. They found the country here bristling with bomb-proof shelters and trenches which had been dug by the Turks, and did not appear to have suffered very greatly from the heavy shelling endured from the warships.

The third beach is situated between Cape

Helles and Cape Tekeh. It consists of a bay with a sandy beach shut in on both sides by high cliffs. The valley which terminates in the bay and sandy beach had been liberally protected with barbed wire, and was defended by hidden snipers, whose fire was most deadly and accurate. The landing was preceded by a heavy fire from the warships, directed on this valley in the hope of destroying the barbed wire.

The landing was then begun, boats making for the cliffs on either side of the beach, and the men climbing the cliffs and hanging on to the ridge at the top, in spite of the deadliest resistance. Some boats made for the beach itself, and were met with a terrible fire from machine guns, snipers and entrenched troops; while before them was a solid mass of barbed wire. The Maxim guns had been carefully placed in holes dug in the cliff, where the fire from the warships could not harm them, and were trained on to this stretch of sandy beach.

The gallantry of the men on the cliff edge saved this situation, for charging forward they captured the Turkish trenches, and so stopped

the enfilading fire that had been coming from them. More troops were landed, and drove the Turks farther back still, permitting assistance to be rendered to the wounded men with whom the beach itself was strewn. The barbed wire was cut, and the beach was made ready for the landing of stores and guns. But the Turks returned to the attack very heavily reinforced, and the night fighting was most severe. The next day more troops were landed, and the footing was finally made secure.

The fourth landing was made between Cape Helles and Seddul Bahr, on a beach very similar to that just described. On the hills above are situated the remains of the Fort of Seddul Bahr, silenced by the warships in February, and demolished by a landing party at that time. The Turks had defended the heights with the usual barbed wire, machine guns, and carefully placed snipers. The valley itself was entrenched, and the trenches were liberally protected with barbed wire.

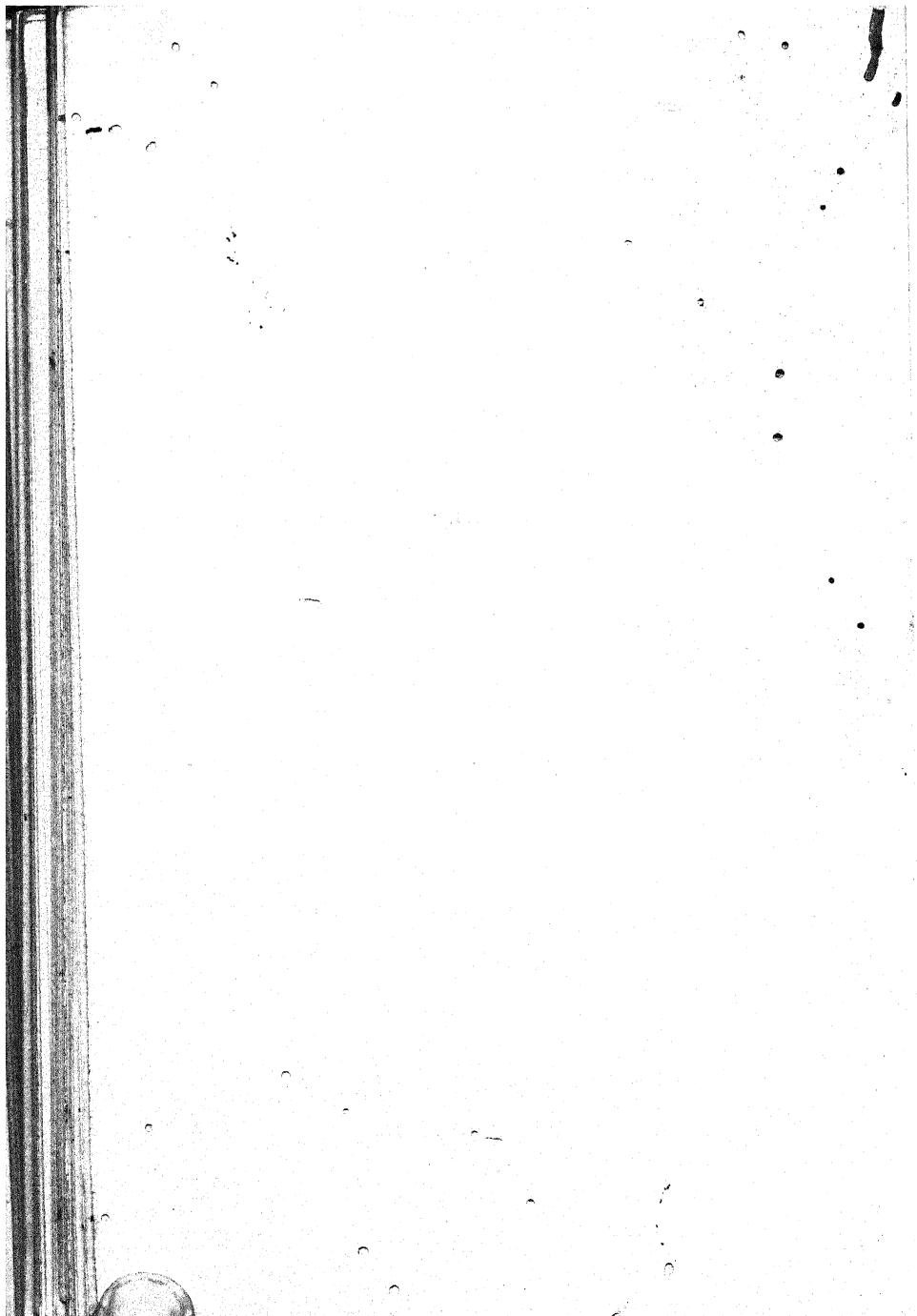
A liner, the *River Clyde*, had been specially prepared for this landing. Her bridge was



[Photo, Alfieri.]

After the Bombardment.

Effect of the *Queen Elizabeth's* shells upon one of the forts.



armoured with steel plates, and in her bows were a dozen Maxim guns similarly protected. In her sides doors had been cut, to allow of rapid disembarkation, and wooden gangways sloping down to the water were rigged to these doors. The liner conveyed 2,000 troops for landing, and was deliberately run ashore under the cliffs. At the same time a landing party in boats made an attempt to get a footing on the beach, but was met with a withering fire, and only a few of them escaped unscathed.

• The fire was also directed to the *River Clyde*, the bullets raining on her steel sides without harming the men they sheltered. An attempt to land by means of one of the gangways was now made, about 200 men gallantly rushing down to the beach. Some were killed on the gangway itself, some on the reef, and many on the beach. But few of these brave fellows escaped.

No landing could be effected under such a fire, and the battleships *Cornwallis*, *Albion* and *Queen Elizabeth* began bombarding the cliffs and the old fort, in the hope of silencing the machine guns which were doing most of the

mischief. All day the men lay on the liner, with the bullets playing on her side, and certain death waiting for any one who might show himself. From the forts on the Asiatic side the big howitzers were trying to hit the liner, but warships were able to keep this fire under. Four times she was struck by the big shells from these forts, but luckily not one of these shells exploded.

When darkness came on it was decided to make an attempt to land the men from the liner; and curiously enough this was done, and the men were got under cover, without any resistance being experienced. But when the Turks discovered what had occurred they opened again a furious fire; this, however, did little damage to the troops, who had good cover.

There still remained much work to be done. On the hill the enemy strongly occupied the old fort, and behind that the castle of Seddul Bahr, and the village bearing the same name. Beyond that again was a hill known as 141, strongly protected with wired trenches and machine guns. The castle had to be bombarded from the warships to silence machine guns placed

in its towers, and there was a stiff fight in the ruins of the village, house to house fighting taking place. On the following day the trenches of Hill 141 were carried, severe losses being incurred in the operation. Thus the landing-place at Seddul Bahr was finally established.

The following description of the ruined fort is given by the special correspondent of the *Times* who witnessed these landings:—

“The ruins of Seddul Bahr present an amazing spectacle. The castle, forts, and village are now little but a jumble of crushed masonry. The guns in the forts lie smashed into huge pieces of steel, and have been thrown by the force of the explosions several yards from their mountings. Great heaps of unused ammunition are piled up beside them. The old towers of the castle are partly standing, although riddled by huge shells. The barracks at the back have been gutted by shells and flames.”

The fifth landing was made between Seddul Bahr and de Tott's Battery, 700 men being put ashore by trawlers, and establishing themselves on the cliffs in the face of a spirited opposition.

This point of landing, it should be observed, is well within the passage of the Dardanelles.

These landings have been described as separate operations and reasonably so. But the secure footing that was finally obtained on the southern extremity of the peninsula was due to the co-ordination of these separate efforts, the landing secured at one place helping to clear the way for the attempt at another.

The whole of this hazardous work was carried out with the utmost dash and bravery, men everywhere facing certain death without a qualm. The total price paid for the landing was a high one, though not higher than the importance of the end gained would warrant. From that time forward it was possible to continue the forcing work with method and precision.

CHAPTER XVII

By Land and Sea

HAVING driven the enemy away from the edge of the cliffs, and silenced the machine guns on the hills, it became possible to land stores without loss, and to bring up further troops by transport. During the ten days following the splendid landings of April 25, reinforcements were continually arriving, and the communications between the various landing points were firmly established. It has already been stated that the French troops were landed at Kum Kale on the Asiatic shore. This was merely a blind, to keep the guns and troops on that side occupied, and so to cover the vital landing operations on the peninsula. When that important point had been gained, the French division was removed from the Asiatic shore and transferred to the point near de Tott's,

where a landing had been effected well inside the channel of the Dardanelles.

The position of the different forces can easily be grasped. The Australians were at Gaba Tepe, furthest north; the French at de Tott's, furthest south; the British at and around Cape Helles, furthest west. Simultaneously they began an advance inland, drawing together around two hills known as Krithia and Achi Baba, the highest and strongest positions in the Gallipoli Peninsula. Krithia is situated about midway between Gaba Tepe and Cape Helles, and landings had been effected on either side of it.

This advance began on April 28, and was met with a strong opposition. The right (French) and centre made good headway, but on the left the difficult nature of the country made progress slow. There was more spirited fighting on May 1, when the French bore the brunt of repeated bayonet attacks delivered with remarkable spirit. From the warships in the Straits the bayonet fighting could clearly be seen, the observers actually looking on at the defeat of the Turks, and marking how few of them escaped death or

capture. In this fight the Turks lost quite 3,000 men.

Thereafter they confined themselves to night attacks, using their shrapnel with a prodigality not justified by the results. The main point of attack was the French end of the line, which was slowly pressing on to command all the coastal strip between the entrance and the Narrows, an important position when once gained. The batteries on the Asiatic side were in a good position to hinder these operations, but were kept well in check by the warships. As soon as the forts opened fire, the return would come promptly from the 12-inch guns, driving the shore gunners into cover and away from their guns.

Better even than this, the good shooting of the *Agamemnon* resulted in a number of the heavy guns being knocked out with direct hits, the accuracy resulting from combination with a dauntless observer signalling from an aeroplane. The *Queen Elizabeth*, shooting across the peninsula from the Gulf of Saros, also did excellent work, and the two big forts near the Narrows on the Asiatic side had a very warm time.

But the efforts of the warships in the Straits were concentrated on the big group of forts at Kilid Bahr, which were also the first objective of the land attack. Early in May these forts had been reduced apparently to a heap of ruins, though previous experience had taught the attacking force not to be deceived by appearance, or by the continued silence of the batteries. The Kilid Bahr forts will only be considered out of action when they have been dismantled and destroyed by an occupying force.

Attacked from three quarters at once, the Turks on the peninsula slowly fell back upon their strongest positions, Krithia and Achi Baba. The country was a network of trenches, from which the enemy had to be driven trench by trench. The customary defences of barbed wire, hidden machine guns, and well-posted snipers caused each day's work to be accompanied by severe losses; the enemy selling each trench as dearly as might be. By the end of the first week in May, this portion of the Turkish force was practically surrounded, and cut off from the defenders of Gallipoli and other positions

nearer Constantinople. But though cut off, the Turks were posted in an enormously strong position on the height of Achi Baba.

This position was being shelled continuously by the warships, causing terrible losses. By the middle of May it was estimated that the Turkish losses on the peninsula had amounted to 55,000 men, there being 40,000 wounded in Constantinople at this time. The penetration of the Straits by our warships had advanced so far that Gallipoli was being shelled by direct fire, and great loss of stores was occasioned to the enemy from this source at Chanak, Maidos and even Gallipoli.

The damage at Gallipoli prompted the Turks to experiment with a reprisal, the nature of which was probably suggested to them by their German mentors. It bears at least the true German imprint, the hallmark of a barbarity alien even to the Turk. In order to divert the fire of the warships from Gallipoli, they threatened to convey civilians of the Allied nationalities from Constantinople to the zone of fire, and expose

them to the same risks as were being taken by the defenders of Gallipoli.

This threat was conveyed to Sir Edward Grey through the customary American sources, and produced the stern reply that if any one of these civilians should suffer from the course intended, the Sultan and Enver Pasha would be held personally responsible by the British Government. Before this reply reached Constantinople some forty men of British and French nationality were actually taken to Gallipoli, but after consideration the Turks sent them back to Constantinople. The disgust this squeamishness caused in their German friends may be imagined ; but the Turk, after a century of reverses, has acquired a habit of expecting the worst which served him well in this instance.

Meanwhile all was terror and confusion in Constantinople. One or more British submarines had succeeded in getting through the minefields and past Gallipoli into the Sea of Marmora. There the shipping in the very port of Constantinople was at their mercy. A number of German ships which had been sheltered there since the

very beginning of the war appear to have been sunk, and a very intelligible panic ensued among Turkish shipowners.

The attack did not go all one way, however, for a Turkish torpedo boat struck a very severe blow at the fleet by sinking the warship *Goliath*, with very heavy loss of life.

It is now possible to recapitulate the position at the Dardanelles three months after the first attack had been delivered by sea. The forts at the entrance had been demolished, leaving free entrance to the attacking fleets. A strong force had been landed in three places on the peninsula, and had been supplied with all necessary equipment, even to batteries of heavy field and siege guns. The Turks had been driven into the very strongest of their entrenched positions, with a loss estimated at one half of the original defending forces. In their strong positions they were subject to daily attacks by land, and continuous shelling from the heavy guns at sea, with the result that the positions were rapidly becoming untenable.

The work of clearing the Straits had pro-

gressed so far that all the forts up to the Narrows had been silenced, with the exception of the strong forts at Chanak, and one at Kilid Bahr. Positions at Nagara, Maidos and Gallipoli, further up the passage, were subject to continuous attack, and great loss of stores had been suffered by the enemy. The work of mine-sweeping was going forward, more progress being made as the warships established superiority over the forts of the Narrows. Only when the strip of coastal territory from Cape Helles to Sidil Bahr falls into the hands of the land expedition will it be possible to deal thoroughly with these minefields.

The method, determination and courage displayed in the attack leave little doubt of the ultimate fate of Constantinople. The hour cannot much longer be delayed when the Allied fleet will appear off the city, and its holders must take their choice of surrender or bombardment. That German advice will be given to force a bombardment of the city seems very certain, but it is not so sure that such advice will be followed. There is a strong party in Turkey that has never been too much in love with their Ger-

man friends, and that party will surely assert itself when affairs have reached such a pass. In any case, the fall of the city cannot long be delayed when once the passage through the Dardanelles has been cleared.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Future of the Dardanelles

MR. ASQUITH has interpreted in unmistakable words all that the fall of Constantinople will mean. It will signify "the death knell of the Ottoman dominion, not only in Europe, but in Asia." The mastery of the Dardanelles will pass into other hands, the Cross will replace the crescent on the minaret of St. Sophia, and a new era will begin for the noble city of Constantinople.

Among all the great questions set aside for settlement till the day when the theory that might is right shall have been utterly disproved, there is no more fascinating speculation than that which involves the future of Constantinople. Her position as the Queen city of the near East remains unchallenged ; recent developments have only served to increase the value of her splendid

position, and the trading advantage it gives her.

Half a century ago it might have seemed that her place as half-way house between East and West was being assailed. The cutting of the Suez canal, opening a short sea route to the Far East, necessarily diverted a large proportion of the trade that once came by caravan to the marts of Constantinople. The city was no longer the stepping-off place from Europe to Eastern Asia, for the great liners took away the host of travellers who once found their first caravanserai by the shore of the Golden Horn.

But time gives back inevitably all that it takes away. The railway from Constantinople to India is as certain to be built as the Turk is sure to be dispossessed of all claim or interest in it. Once more Constantinople will be the stopping-place on the way to the East, the place where all Europe meets all Asia.

It is just as sure that there can be no changes in Central Europe that will not bring new prosperity to Constantinople. The small States that must be maintained as a buffer between

the Teutonic countries of the future and the Mediterranean will certainly find their real capital there. The wealth of Southern Russia can never find any other outlet than the natural one of the Dardanelles. The wealth of a new Persia and a freed Asia Minor must flow outwards by the same channel. The Constantinople of the future will be materially greater than the Constantinople of the past ever was.

Nor can the magic of the city ever pass away. The white minarets will still rise above the yellow houses, the pleasant gardens will slope down to the sweet waters, over which glide the countless caiques, and the glamour of Stamboul will abide forever where the tides of the Bosphorus sweep into the Propontis. Nothing of the romance of the city will depart with the power of the Turk. The same polyglot multi-hued crowd will nightly throng the bridges to Galata, the same mystery will brood over the high walls that bisect the tree-filled gardens. The charm, the fascination and the grandeur of Constantinople are abiding qualities.

More; reverent hands will restore many of

the hidden glories of the past. The sickly white-wash that disfigures the walls of St. Sophia will disappear, and the vivid frescoes will again see the light of day. That and many another Christian church will be restored to the high service to which they were consecrated. The foul spots of the city will be cleansed, its plague spots and sores will be healed. There is a great work to do at Constantinople when the world has recovered the precious gift of peace. But who is to do it?

Not many years ago, when the Balkan States made common cause, and swept the Turk back to the very borders of the city, men discussed a possibility of a free Constantinople under a joint rule of the nations of the Balkan League. So much courage, so much devotion, so much unity gave promise of a great future for the new combination. That promise was broken almost as soon as it was given. The hideous story of the second Balkan war, with its mutilations and tortures, its aftermath of endless hatred between nations that are brothers in blood, makes it impossible to consider such a

trust being granted to them. The Balkan League no longer exists; it never existed save in name.

Indeed, a good deal has been written in this book with the object of showing that the opinions and the interests of the Balkan States are likely to receive only the scantest consideration when the settlement of the future of Constantinople is being made. Except Serbia and Montenegro, none of the States has earned any title to consideration, unless it be from the enemies of the Allied Powers. The devotion of Belgium, the patience of Holland, the harmlessness of Denmark are not to be found here.

Shall Russia, then, realize the cherished ambition of more than a century? It is the custom to show that Russia no longer stands in the same relation to ourselves in the East as she did forty years ago. The Russian pressure on the Indian frontier has long been relaxed, the influence of Russia in Persia has been clearly defined and limited. Russia's right to a free passage for her products through the Dardanelles will never be disputed, it is a right that will ever be held inalienable. But the control

of Constantinople is as little likely to pass into Russian hands, as the Russian fleet is likely to be before Constantinople sooner than the combined fleets of Great Britain and France.

The great war in Europe has been defined as a war on behalf of the small nations. Any settlement that may be made at its conclusion will have as its basis the prevention of aggrandisement of any power of Europe, whether it be Great Britain, or Germany, or Russia. And for that reason alone Constantinople is as little likely to fall into the hands of Russia as into the control of Great Britain herself.

The spirit in which the future of Constantinople must and will be settled is the spirit in which the Allies make war. All thought of national gain, if any were ever cherished, has long been set aside. To fight for the very essence of civilization is the mission of every peasant who takes up arms against Germany and the German idea. The freedom of the weak, the value of the plighted word of a nation, the very elementary decencies of humanity are all at stake. The magnitude of the issue has exalted

those who contend for the right, and whole regiments of heroes have risen up out of commonplace men to die for all they hold sacred.

The three great nations who are banded together in this noble cause embody the very spirit of sacrifice. Time after time one has bled that the other may endure to triumph. Never have allied nations shown less jealousy, and more devotion to the common cause. The essence of what we are fighting for is the preservation of the smaller nations of Europe. We shed our blood to destroy the Colossus that would rear his greater height by devouring the small and the weak.

Given such a cause, the acquisition of a new power, as the possession of Constantinople undoubtedly is, must be regarded as a grave responsibility. How earnestly it was sought to avoid it has already been shown, or this book has been written in vain. It is a responsibility thrust on the Allied Powers by the essential incapacity of the Turk to do the right thing, or to espouse the right cause. And it has been accepted in no mean spirit of self-seeking. The

lamentable picture of the Balkan States, quarrelling over the spoils before the checked oppressor has been wholly reduced, will not be repeated. Higher ideals are abroad to-day among the really great nations of the earth.

To open the Dardanelles for the benefit of all, and to the special advantage of none, is a problem to which it will indeed be difficult to find a solution. But the governing factor in finding it already exists; those to whom the task will fall are to approach it with the highest and best purpose.

Nor does Constantinople herself present any obstacle to an adequate solution. When the Turk shall have gone, the city contains no preponderating nationality that will sway its future from within. It is a gathering place for the nations of the world, a city that belongs to every continent and clime. Professor Freeman, in a prescient passage which has been quoted, points out that no natural head for Constantinople may readily be found, when the stranger shall have been driven out. The converse is so far true that to Constantinople no rule will appear

unnatural, let it only be a firm and just one.

It rests largely with the future what form of international control will be set up in Constantinople. A difficulty which has maintained the Turk in Europe for well-nigh a century, an offence to the very spirit of progress and humanity, cannot be settled by mere good intent or ordinary ingenuity. Circumstances must guide the settlement—the circumstances in which Europe finds itself at the end of the war. It will surely be a better world then: perhaps good enough to find the right future for Constantinople.